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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 136



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. REDUCTION OF CRUDE OIL IMPORTS DISCUSSED

OW221536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 22 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 22 (XINHUA)--U.S. imports of crude oil showed a marked drop in the first nine months of 1980 as a result of rising U.S. oil production and lower levels of consumption, according to Washington reports.

The imports of crude oil during this period averaged 5,363,000 barrels a day, a decline of 16.3 per cent from the same January-September period last year. Crude imports averaged 4,948,000 barrels a day in September, down 22.8 per cent from the same month last year.

Large oil imports have been an important factor accounting for the huge deficits in U.S. foreign trade in recent years. So the considerable decline in oil imports will help correct the adverse balance in foreign trade. U.S. Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick predicted on October 20 that the country's trade deficit in 1980 would not rise above last year's 37 billion dollars owing to lower oil imports and improved manufacturing and agricultural exports.

The huge cut in oil imports was brought about by reduced oil consumption against the background of economic recession. The American Petroleum Institute (API) reported that oil use in the first nine months was 8 per cent under the levels of a year ago in spite of an increase in oil output. AP also said that for the nine-month period U.S. oil production averaged 8.7 million barrels daily, up 1.9 per cent from the same period last year.

AP reported on October 19 that the current drilling pace in the United States is about 35 per cent higher than last year. It predicted that 59,107 oil and gas wells will be completed in 1980, breaking the previous record of 58,160 set in 1956.

Increases in both production and consumption of coal as a partial replacement of oil were reported.

Coal production in the first six months of this year was also reported up ten per cent over a year ago, with coal providing over 50 per cent of the nation's electricity in the period, which has not happened since 1968 on an annual basis.

The United States has increased its oil inventories in recent years in the face of a steady rise in oil prices and fear of an abrupt stoppage in oil imports which would gravely affect the economic and military interests of the country. AP reported on October 18 that U.S. crude oil inventories rose to a record 394.3 million barrels in mid-October, up 20.1 percent from the 328.2 million barrels on hand a year earlier.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK'S CARRINGTON OPPOSES UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

OW251228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 24 (XINHUA)--It was a dangerous illusion to think that unilateral gestures of disarmament could bring results, particularly when one was dealing with a power like the Soviet Union, said British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington at the United Nations Association in London today.

"I believe we have brought the Russians to the negotiating table just because the NATO allies have agreed [on] a programme for modernising their own theatre nuclear forces, in parallel with the United States' offers to negotiate," he added.

Lord Carrington stated that he was speaking in the aftermath of a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, now nearly a year old, which had been a severe blow to detente. The British Government saw no alternative but to continue to maintain the forces and weapons necessary for deterrence, he stressed.

The brutal, calculated use of force by Moscow to occupy another country had damaged the whole basis of public support for arms control, especially in the United States, he pointed out.

"Nobody would be happier than I to abandon our nuclear weapons, if I believed that by doing so I would really be improving the prospects for lasting peace," the foreign secretary said. But he emphasized that he did not believe this. "Experience did not suggest the Russians would respond, except to exploit our subsequent weakness."

Declaring that arms control could not solve defence problems, Lord Carrington told the association: "We must stick firmly our commitment to base United States cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe from 1983."

He pointed out that the difficulty of arms control was that the Russians "declaim a lot" but initiated little of substance. He singled out the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty and urged support for an international convention banning chemical weapons. Unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain would be exploited by the Soviet Union and increase the risk of war, Lord Carrington said.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ANALYZED

OW250324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 23 (XINHUA correspondent Yang Yi)--Britain's economy remains in straits despite some recent improvements.

Inflation has shown a steady decline since last May. The annual rate has fallen from 21.9 per cent in May to 15.9 per cent. Visible trade has continued to show a surplus every month since last July. Hence, a balance of payments surplus of more than 900 million sterling in the third quarter. However, money supply increased by only 0.6 per cent in September, much less than the 8 per cent increase in the previous two months. British officials hold that these tendencies show that the British economy has begun to turn for the better and the trend will continue.

However, some British economists, businessmen and the press have expressed doubts about the optimistic opinions of the officials. They are deeply disturbed by the fact that unemployment is still climbing as the economic growth rate continues to drop. The official figures show that the number of unemployed in Britain has risen to 2,063,000 or 8.5 per cent in October. Anxiety increases as the number of jobless mounted for the 13th successive month. Industrial production in August fell off 8.5 per cent from that in July. From June to August, the total value of industrial production dropped by 5.5 per cent as compared with the corresponding months last year and by 12 per cent in comparison with last year's average.

Total industrial production is now down to the lowest point since 1975 and the manufacturing industry at its lowest point since 1968.

Some observers here are of the opinion that the falling inflation rate in the past months is due to the economic gloom at home and abroad, shrinking markets and sluggish sales. All this is bound to slash the rate of profit and consequently affects technological renovation and enlarged reproduction. Moreover, the relatively high exchange rate of the pound and soaring public utility charges will make it impossible to keep prices stable in the long term.

The held that the increase in the British balance of payments could be partly attributed to North Sea oil earnings, and more important, to reduced imports as a result of the industrial recession. The value of imports in this year's third quarter was about 900 million pounds and 1,340 million pounds less than the second and first quarters respectively. The annual growth rate of money supply still stood at 17.5 per cent, or much higher than the ceiling of 7 per cent to 11 per cent fixed by the government for the current fiscal year. In the first half of this fiscal year, the government's public debt reached 7,500 million pounds, or close to the original target of 8,500 million for the whole year. Therefore, the government is facing a difficult task to check inflation by means of controlling money supply.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLAND TAKES MEASURES TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

OW250617 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1244 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--To overcome its serious economic difficulties, Poland has recently taken such measures as revising its agricultural policy and reducing the number of capital construction projects.

Regarding agricultural policy, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish United Peasant Party jointly proposed a "draft directions" on "key problems of agricultural and food policies. The "draft directions" said that the agricultural policy should guarantee the equal development of all agricultural units under different systems of ownership. To achieve this, all units under public ownership as well as individual farmers will be "equally provided" with investment, means of production, loans and other assistance.

The "draft directions" stressed that industrial departments should strengthen their support for agriculture; that land should be utilized in a better way; that products should be increased; and that living conditions for peasants should be improved. The new 5-year plan (1981 to 1985) will, first of all, create conditions for expediting the development of both agriculture and the entire food economy. The "draft directions" said that the purchasing prices of farm produce will be raised--the price of milk will be raised beginning 1 November, and the price of other produce will be raised beginning in the first quarter of next year. At the same time, the tax collection measures will be revised to provide "favorable conditions for the vigorous development of production by small farming units." State-run agricultural units and agricultural cooperatives should promote cooperation with individual farmers on a more extensive scale than ever before.

The Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party have instructed the government to take the positions of the two parties on agricultural policy into consideration and work out, by the end of this year, a plan for putting these measures into operation.

regard to reducing the number of capital construction projects, the Council of Ministers made a decision in mid-October suspending construction projects for the state administration in order to reduce expenditures. The same restriction applies to the administrative construction projects for

the National Federation of Cooperatives and for social organizations, with the exception of those construction projects that are conducive to the welfare of workers and staff members or that are needed for promoting production. Financial supervision over construction projects by private investment will be conducted and investigations into the source of funds for some construction projects by investment will be carried out.

In addition, Polish press and radio stations have exposed and criticized improper investment in some production projects. For example, the construction of Katowice steelworks with a planned annual output of 9 million tons of steel, has been denounced as a project carried out to satisfy a "desire" by some people. According to the exposure, the investment for the Katowice steelworks was originally estimated at 25 billion zloty. However, the current investment has reached 120 billion zloty and further increases in investment costs are expected.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH TRADE UNION REGISTRATION CAUSES PROBLEMS

OW270546 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1723 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--The Court of Warsaw Province, Poland, announced on 24 October that the registration of the Polish Independent and Self-governing "Solidarity" Trade Union was approved after the trade union's constitution was revised. However, the trade union issued a statement on the same day, protesting the court action to change trade union's constitution without authorization.

The issue of registration is one of the principal contradictions between the new Polish trade union and the government. On the basis of the agreement reached on 31 August between the government committee and the Gdansk United Strike Committee, the newly established independent and self-governing trade union must submit an application to the court to register itself within 1 month after the agreement comes into effect. The trade union can function only after its registration is legally approved. The preparatory committee of the independent and self-governing "solidarity" trade union headquartered in Gdansk officially files its application for registration to the Court of Warsaw Province on 24 September, but its application was rejected by the court. According to a court statement, the main reason for the rejection was that the constitution of the new trade union did not conform to the Gdansk agreement and had to be revised. However, the "solidarity" trade union believes that its constitution totally conforms to the Gdansk agreement and it has no intention of making any essential revision.

For a month, the court and the new trade union exchanged their views on the above-mentioned differences, but they failed to obtain specific results. On the afternoon of 24 October, the Warsaw Court started to review the application filed by the independent and self-governing trade union for registration. At the court, Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultation Committee of this trade union, reaffirmed his own basic stand. Later, the legal counselor of the trade union was authorized to make several non-essential revisions to the constitution. Then Judge (Z. Koshicholnial) announced a court adjournment.

After 1 hour, the judge read a decision on the approval of the registration of the "solidarity" trade union by the court. The decision included major

revisions to the trade union constitution. Passages recognizing the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party over the state and those on the socialist system were added, passages on the "right to strike" were deleted, and restrictions on factory administration and party organization leaders assuming leading posts at all levels in the trade union were lifted.

In the evening on the same day, Walesa held a press conference for Polish and foreign reporters and issued a statement protesting the court action to revise the "solidarity" trade union constitution without authorization, and declaring that the revised portion of the constitution was unacceptable. The statement said: the court "made an arbitrary decision on the registration of our trade union, and at the same time, revised our constitution without authorization and in its own way." This "runs counter to aspirations clearly expressed by the plenipotentiary representative of the trade union." The statement stressed that the court action "infuriated" us. It said: "At present we cannot agree with any action to interfere with the independence and self-governing principle of the trade union. Nor shall we agree in the future." It pointed out: "We will act upon the constitution which we have adopted and which has not been revised by the court."

The statement said in conclusion: "The authorities should be held fully responsible for the tension in society created by the issue of the registration of the "solidarity" trade union.

At the press conference, Walesa also said: The "solidarity" trade union will appeal to the supreme court in the near future, and has decided to call a meeting of the National Consultation Committee of the "solidarity" trade union to discuss countermeasures.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER VIEWS NORTHERN ISLANDS

OW251943 Beijing XINHUA in English 1933 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Tokyo, October 25 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito said today that for a possible solution to the problem of the northern territories, Japan "has spent 35 years. It should never take a wavering stand again on the issue but should pay full attention to the settlement of the problem."

The Japanese foreign minister made the remarks on an inspection tour near the four Soviet-occupied islands this afternoon, according to a KYODO report.

His tour was conducted by way of watching the four Japanese northern islands from a patrol boat on the sea. This is the third inspection tour by the foreign minister after he took office last July.

Today, the weather was gloomy over the sea off Nemuro, and the Kunashiri Island could only be seen dimly. Braving the chilly wind, Ito watched the four northern islands through a telescope and said with a deep feeling: "Having come to the front line, I have truly felt the sternness of the territorial and border problem and felt for myself how inexorable the history is."

Ito told reporters in Nemuro that one should not be optimistic about the Soviet attitude toward the northern islands. Japan had referred this problem to the U.N. General Assembly. It would seize appropriate opportunities in future to appeal to public opinion of the world, he said.

Ito pointed out that in its diplomatic activities with the Soviet Union in the future, Japan "will not adopt the opinion to separate politics from economy."

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFGHAN UNESCO DELEGATE CONDEMNS SOVIETS

OW260728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (XINHUA)--The Afghan delegate to the 21st conference of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) drew warm applause from other delegates but startled the Soviet delegation here this morning by making an impromptu accusation of the Soviet invasion of his country.

During discussions on a resolution on exchange of information at the last session of the fourth committee (culture and exchange) of the conference, Akhtar Mohammad Paktiawal, acting leader of the Afghan delegation and secretary-general of Afghanistan's National Commission for UNESCO, said, "In our country, information exchange is controlled by the Soviet Union."

"Afghanistan," he pointed out, "is not a free country anymore. It is completely dominated by the Soviet Union. The Soviets violated our human rights. Their tanks killed our women and children and one million Afghans have fled the country. We want freedom."

What the Afghan people want is the right to manage their own affairs without external interference, he added.

He called on the international community to help the Afghans obtain such right.

He "would tell the Afghan 'government' the same thing," he said, although his wife and children in Afghanistan would suffer from the consequence.

Previously, when the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was mentioned at the conference, the Soviet delegation or someone from the Afghan delegation who was compelled by the Soviet delegation would argue that the Soviet troops had been sent there upon the Afghan Government's invitation to quell foreign intervention there.

But Paktiawal, as an official delegate of Afghanistan, gave lie to the Soviet allegation.

The Soviet delegates were stupefied by this speech which won warm applause.

The news spread to the conference halls of every committee of the conference within half an hour.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFGHAN RESISTANCE SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

OW231840 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 23 (XINHUA)--"Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union cannot in the least promote his prestige in Afghanistan and the world as well as he wished to. On the contrary, the Afghan people will hate him more and intensify their struggle against the regime," a spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan told XINHUA over telephone in Peshwar today.

He added, "The peace-loving people in the world can also see more clearly Babrak's true face as a Soviet puppet through this visit."

Babrak Karmal went to the Soviet Union on October 15. This is his first trip abroad since he came to power in the Soviet-engineered coup on December 27, 1979.

The spokesman added that Babrak's Soviet visit is "useless" and "cannot help the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan."

He said that Babrak cannot last very long. The whole nation and people are rising against him and his regime.

He said that the United Nations is going to debate on the Afghan issue in the near future. Through this visit Babrak wanted to give the world some impression that his government represents Afghanistan and the will of the Afghan people. However, he noted, the people the world over are aware of the basic facts: "Babrak regime is only a puppet regime imposed on the Afghan people by the Russians" and "is deeply hated by the Afghan people." He demanded that the Soviet Union "abide by the U.N. resolution on Afghanistan, stop its aggression and withdraw its troops from Afghanistan."

Commenting on Babrak's visit to Moscow, a spokesman of Hazb-i-Islami of Afghanistan, another Afghan Islamic guerrilla group, in Peshwar today said that Babrak wanted to get more Soviet troops and weapons in Afghanistan to kill Afghan people. But he stressed "he will never achieve his aim. Babrak regime will be defeated in the end."

"We will fight to the last drop of our blood for the establishment of a real Islamic republic in Afghanistan. This is our determination," he emphasized.

"Perhaps Babrak wanted to get some consolation from Moscow because his one more minister has been killed in Paktia Province by freedom-fighters recently," he added ironically. [sentence as printed]

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DENOUNCES USSR'S AFGHAN ROLE

OW230742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 22 (XINHUA)--The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the issue might be taken to the world body again shortly, declared Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Lahore today.

Speaking at a civic reception held for the president in Lahore, capital of Punjab Province, he said that Afghanistan was a political issue and Pakistan, abiding by the resolutions of the Islamic foreign ministers conference, was seeking its political solution and clouds were expected to clear shortly.

Referring to the country's defence capabilities, President Ziaul Haq said that Pakistan had no aggressive designs against any country. But at the same time, he added, it would fight to the last to protect its honour and self-respect.

He said people must strive to augment their own resources by increasing production so that the country could stand economically on its own feet.

The president said the present government was bound to stay till the completion of its mission--the complete Islamisation of the Pakistani society.

The president denied any consideration to form a political party.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DISCUSSES SOUTH ASIA, MIDEAST

OW241334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 24 (XINHUA)--President Ziaul Haq has stated that the situation in the South Asian region and particularly in the Gulf was becoming more and more complex.

Speaking to newsmen at the Lahore airport yesterday before his departure for Rawalpindi after a two-day visit to the provincial capital, President Zia said that in general, this is a bad trend for the region. "The Gulf is feeling unstable." However, he said that peace and stability prevail in Pakistan.

Answering a question if there had been any change in the Soviet attitude towards Afghanistan, President Zia said that discussions were in progress. "We are trying to find a political solution" there, he added.

Asked about Habib Chatti's visit to Iraq and Iran, he said that it was an effort and that there might be some results, he hoped.

President Zia and Chatti, secretary-general of the Islamic Conference Organization, were chosen by the foreign ministers of the 40-nation organization to try and bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two Moslem states.

Iraq has agreed in principle to the proposal but Iran has yet to make its decision known.

It was reported that President Zia and Chatti, who left Pakistan for Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, yesterday afternoon would be in touch with each other in the light of the talks they had in Lahore yesterday. They are waiting for a reply from Iran.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN ISSUES WARNING ON IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT

OW280132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0117 GMT 28 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 27 (XINHUA)--Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi warned last night that the conflict between Iran and Iraq "would have an overall debilitating effect on the region and carries the concomitant risk of a superpower confrontation or, in the alternative, of mutual accommodation by dividing the region into spheres of influence."

The foreign minister issued the warning in an exclusive interview with a special correspondent of the associated press of Pakistan (APP) at New York's Kennedy International Airport when he was heading for London after leading Pakistan's delegation to the current session of the General Assembly.

The conflict "could have a profound bearing on the security environment of the region," he added. "Pakistan views the situation with the gravest concern and is most anxious that this conflict between two brotherly Islamic nations, which militates against the ideals and principles of the Islamic conference as well as the non-aligned movement, comes to an end as quickly as possible. The differences between Iran and Iraq do not lend themselves to a military solution. Being neighbours, there is no escape for them from peaceful coexistence."

Talking about the Islamic group-sponsored draft resolution on Afghanistan to be tabled on November 18 for debate in the U.N. General Assembly, Agha Shahi said the draft resolution is based "on the same internationally recognized principles" which include the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan. At the same time, the resolution "provides for the possibility of a role for the United Nations secretary-general acting directly or through a designated representative, in instituting an indirect political dialogue."

Agha Shahi said the problem that the world faces in Afghanistan is a grave one. The situation there is worsening steadily and the Afghan people are suffering heavily. The resistance of the Afghan people to the present regime in Kabul, he noted, is continuing throughout the length and breadth of Afghanistan.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTANI PAPER HITS KARMAL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

OW231909 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 23 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 23 (XINHUA)--The conditions reiterated in the joint communique issued at the end of Babrak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union mean nothing more than that Moscow is bent upon prolonging its occupation and provides itself with a pretext for continued presence of its forces in Afghanistan, said Pakistan's Urdu paper JANG in an editorial yesterday.

It said the communique shows that the Russians have decided to keep their forces and even to refurbish them in that country. Hence, their condition that external aggression must be stopped, is manifestly unacceptable to the world community, particularly to the neighbours of Afghanistan. This condition, besides being extremely ridiculous, indicates the obstinacy of Russia and the Kabul government, it said. Obviously, it added, no neighbour is committing any aggression, direct or indirect, in Afghanistan. The power that has done so is Russia. The Soviet condition that external aggression must stop in Afghanistan is thus nonsensical.

Touching upon the second condition that the neighbours must recognize the Kabul government, the paper pointed out, a government should be a representative one for being recognized or at least it should be free from direct control and domination by foreign forces. However, it noted, if the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan and a government in Kabul is able to maintain itself and wins the confidence of the people and the armed forces, its recognition would certainly be considered.

Without this prerequisite, the paper said, recognizing the Kabul regime would be equivalent to recognizing the Soviet military intervention legitimate.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CITES 'AFP' ON PROTESTS AGAINST AFGHAN REGIME

OW271712 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 27 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 27 (XINHUA)--Students and professors of Kabul University went on strike on October 24 in protest against the Babrak Karmal regime's forced conscription of students into its nearly depleted army, according to an AFP Kabul report quoting sources of the university.

This is the first students' strike since last April when middle school students turned out in force to demonstrate against the Soviet occupation of their country.

A special AFP correspondent who had just left Afghanistan after a two-week visit wrote in one of his dispatches that the strike and flight of youths abroad to escape conscription "underline the difficulties faced by the regime of President Babrak Karmal in his bid to build up his armed forces."

He reported that "a veritable exodus of students of military age has started, with some classes being reduced by one-third as youths flee abroad to escape conscription."

The Afghan army, numbering over 80,000 men before the Soviet invasion in December 1979, is believed to have been reduced to some 35,000 because of numerous defections and desertions.

Other reports said that the Karmal regime had barely managed to prevent an anti-Soviet strike of Kabul shopowners by threatening them with fines and loss of their licenses. The strike call was issued in "night letters" sent by resistance groups. It urged the people to stage a five-day general strike to protest the Soviet military presence and the "sell-out of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union" by Karmal who was then visiting the U.S.S.R.

"Night letters" were also addressed to Afghan army officers urging them to show their support for the resistance movement by staying at home and in their barracks on October 27.

Meanwhile, there were frequent reports of assaults on Soviet soldiers or Afghan officials in the Afghan capital and other towns. On the night of October 15, two Soviet army officers and a senior official of the Karmal regime's Finance Ministry were shot dead in separate attacks near a Soviet military camp in the capital's suburb of Khair Khana. On the same day, the information minister of the Karmal regime was said to have narrowly escaped an attempt at his life in the southern Afghan city of Kandahar.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VODK COMMENTARY CALLING FOR SRV WITHDRAWAL CITED

OW280844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0817 GMT 28 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 28 (XINHUA)--Vietnam must withdraw its troops completely from Kampuchea in accordance with the two related U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea before peace and stability can be realized in the Southeast Asia, Radio Democratic Kampuchea points out in a commentary today.

The commentary says the U.N. resolution of October 22, 1980 calling for an international conference on Kampuchea early next year was opposed by Vietnam, the Soviet Union and Cuba and Vietnam intended to submit its own draft resolution on "the question of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia" for the United Nations General Assembly to vote. But the majority of the member nations did not even bother to take the floor when the question was debated. So the draft resolution became stillborn.

The commentary notes that Vietnam has stationed over 200,000 troops in Kampuchea and deployed much of this force and arms in areas close to the Thai frontier. It has committed armed provocations against and even incursions into Thailand. It has held Laos under military occupation and even dreamed of annexing some one dozen of Thailand's provinces to its "greater Indochina federation." Under such circumstances, can there be any "peace, stability and cooperation" to speak of in the region?

The commentary concluded by saying that if Vietnam has any desire for peace, stability and cooperation in the Southeast Asia, it should first withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea to meet the demand of the great majority of the countries in the world in accordance with the two U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PAPERS COMMENT ON UN RESOLUTION ON KAMPUCHEA

OW241536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Bangkok, October 24 (XINHUA)--Thai papers carried editorials and commentaries today hailing the adoption at the 35th U.N. General Assembly of the ASEAN proposal on solving the Kampuchean problem.

The BANGKOK POST editorially welcomes the passing of the ASEAN draft resolution by an overwhelming majority at the U.N. General Assembly which calls for an international conference on Kampuchea in order to restore peace and stability in Southeast Asia. It writes: "The most optimistic estimate of support by 94 countries has been exceeded. The 97 votes are six votes more than last year's support for the ASEAN resolution calling for total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea."

The editorial points out: "The announcements by Vietnam and other Soviet bloc countries that they would not attend the proposed conference had been anticipated, but as preparations are made for the meeting, these nations can be made to understand that if they fail to attend, their protestations of desire for peace as expressed in a rival resolution are mere hypocrisy."

"TONG HUA YID PAO in a commentary today says the adoption of the resolution sponsored by ASEAN and other countries is yet another proof: "ASEAN's just stand has won widespread international support, while Vietnam has come under condemnation from more and more countries for its aggression against Kampuchea. Vietnam is under the broadside of the public."

The commentary points out that should Vietnam refuse to come to its senses, but instead, stick to its rigid stand, and be a willing subordinate to the big hegemonist and a tool of aggression and expansion to prolong the war in Kampuchea, it is bound to ruin completely in its economy, and its people would lead a more miserable life. As a result, Vietnam will ultimately lose its sovereignty and national dignity, it adds.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

FUZHOU DELEGATION TO JAPAN--With Fuzhou municipal mayor (Liu Guoqing) as the leader, and municipal people's congress Standing Committee chairman Cai Liangcheng as the adviser, the Fuzhou municipal friendship visiting delegation comprising seven persons left Fuzhou for Nagasaki in Japan via Shanghai by plane on the afternoon of 13 October. In July of this year, the State Council approved the agreement making Fuzhou Municipality and Nagasaki sister cities. While the delegation is visiting Japan it will take part in the ceremony for signing the sister city agreement. [HK180436 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 13 Oct 80]

FUJIAN ENTERPRISES IN HONG KONG--Huamin Company, the general agency in Hong Kong for all Fujian economic enterprises opened on 6 October in Hong Kong. The Fuzhou provincial delegation headed by Guo Chao, vice governor of Fujian, arrived in Hong Kong on 3 October to attend the opening ceremony and to investigate the Hong Kong market. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 8 Oct 80 HK]

MALAYSIAN DELEGATION IN XIAMEN--Accompanied by Xing Yimin, deputy secretary general of the NPC Standing Committee, the Malaysian parliamentary delegation arrived in Zhangzhou from Hangzhou by special plane on 13 October at noon and then proceeded to Xiamen by car. When the special plane arrived in the Zhangzhou airport at 1110 hours, Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairmen Cai Li and Hou Linzhou, Xiamen Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairman (Zhang Dushan), Xiamen Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Vice Chairman (Dong Houying) and his wife, and municipal foreign affairs office director (Zhang Mingtao) welcomed the delegates and shook hands with them. They also accompanied them to Xiamen. When the delegates arrived in and left Zhangzhou, Longxi prefectural administrative commissioner (Zhang Tianying), prefectural foreign affairs office director (Wang Xiezhong) and Zhangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee chairman (Liang Caimei) welcomed and saw them off. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 13 Oct 80 HK]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN LIAONING--The nine-member Japanese friendly delegation from Sapporo City, Hokkaido region and its entourage correspondents arrived in Shenyang 21 October to arrange a talk on relevant matters in establishing friendship ties between Shenyang and Sapporo. After arriving in Shenyang, the delegation paid a courtesy call to the Shenyang municipal people's government. They were warmly welcomed by Song Guang, mayor of Shenyang Municipality, and more than 200 cadres from the municipal level

organs. During its stay in Shenyang, the delegation will visit plants, schools and places of historic interest and scenic beauty. [SK240631 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 Oct 80 SK]

JILIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--A seven-member friendship delegation left Changchun for Beijing 16 October. It will fly to Japan 22 October to attend a ceremony for establishing friendly relations between Sendai City and Changchun Municipality. Feng Yingkui, deputy governor of Jilin Province and mayor of Changchun Municipality, is the head of the delegation. (Zhu Wenyu), deputy director of the Jilin provincial foreign affairs office, is the deputy head. [SK210720 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Oct 80 SK]

BRITISH VISITORS--Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--Professor Zhou Peliyuan, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and president of Beijing University, met and feted member of British House of Lords Sir (Fulton) [Fu Er Dun 1361 1422 7319] and his wife at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 18 October. The British guests arrived in Beijing on 15 October at the invitation of Beijing University. During their stay in Beijing, they called on the Education Ministry and toured Beijing University and scenic spots. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1601 GMT 18 Oct 80 OW]

PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION--A 13-member Philippine agricultural delegation arrived in Nanjing Municipality on 16 October for a friendly visit. The delegation was received and feted by Vice Governor Chen Ketain of Jiangsu Provincial People's Government. The delegation left Nanjing for Shanghai by train on 17 October. [OW201113 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80 OW] Chen Zonglie, vice mayor of Shanghai, on the evening of 18 October hosted a banquet in honor of the Philippine agricultural delegation headed by (Manultimu), Philippine vice minister of agriculture, and (Benjamin Pautista), vice chairman of the Philippine Agriculture Council. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 19 Oct 80 OW]

AFGHAN OFFICIAL SEEKS REFUGE--Islamabad, October 27 (XINHUA)--Dr. Abdul Ali, a high official in the Public Works Ministry of the Kabul regime, has recently crossed over to Pakistan from Afghanistan and taken refuge in this country, Radio Pakistan reported today. Dr. Ali, who obtained doctorate in engineering in the Soviet Union, has been serving in the present Babrak Karmal regime, the report said. The radio quoted the former Afghan official as saying in an interview that Soviet advisers were in virtual control of the civil administration in Afghanistan. Under these circumstances, he could not continue in service and decided to quit to take refuge in Pakistan, he added. Dr. Ali repudiated the often repeated claim that the Afghan economy was improving, saying that no public works project had been implemented since the Soviet military intervention in the country. He said that the economic exploitation of Afghanistan was going on and that the projects being undertaken were only those which benefit the occupying military forces. He particularly mentioned the bridge over the Amu River which is being used for the movement of Soviet troops and military equipment in Afghanistan. [Text] [OW280122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 28 Oct 80]

AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMP ATTACKED--Islamabad, October 24 (XINHUA)--Six gunships attacked an Afghan refugee camp situated between Miranshah and Dattaknel, ten miles inside Pakistan territory in the Northwest Frontier Province at about 15:45 p.m. today, according to official sources here. The camp was strafed for some time, the sources said. It was learned that the gunships came from Afghanistan. [Text] [OW250142 Beijing XINHUA in English 0127 GMT 25 Oct 80]

FRENCH INDEPENDENT DEFENSE POLICY--Paris, October 23 (XINHUA)--French Defense Minister Joel Le Theule today reaffirmed at the national assembly that the primary objective of his country's defense policy is "to maintain under all circumstances the independence and liberty of France to act in the world in the interest of peace." When presenting the defense budget for 1981, Joel Le Theule described it as "conforming to the military programming law of 1976" and giving "priority to the development of our nuclear forces and the modernization of our conventional forces." He stressed, "France is engaged in a major effort which will bring about a new generation of weapons destined to maintain the quality and credibility of our deterrent force." He held that French nuclear technology is "at the level of that of the United States and the Soviet Union." France's military budget for 1981 will amount to 104,443 million francs, a 17.9 per cent increase over 1980, and account for 3.85 per cent of the gross domestic product. [Text] [OW262340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 24 Oct 80]

FRANCE ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS--Paris, October 27 (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet said here today that the action taken by Akhtar Mohammed Paktiawai, acting leader of the Afghan delegation to the 21st UNESCO conference in Belgrade, showed that "the Afghan people are far from submission." In an interview with the French television station "Antenne-2," the French foreign minister said that in Belgrade, the "courageous" Afghan diplomat reminded world public opinion of the fact that military suppression was going on in Afghanistan, so was the resistance movement. Referring to the situation in Poland, Francois-Poncet pointed out that the problem should be solved by the Polish people themselves and other eventualities should not be mentioned. "One should not envisage lightly external interventions which, of course, are unacceptable." The French foreign minister opposed the French rugby team's tour of South Africa. The French Government, he said, has instructed French enterprises in South Africa to assume obligation not to carry out South Africa's racial discrimination regulations, especially in sports. Referring to the U.S. hostages in Iran, the foreign minister said, "I think the international community will finally take more coherent, more rapid and more energetic action to deal with such matters." [Text] [OW280811 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 28 Oct 80]

NATO OFFICIAL ON SOVIET THREAT--Paris, October 26 (XINHUA)--The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan signifies "a new stage in the execution of a colossal plan the aim of which is to strangle the Western economy by cutting off its oil supply from the Near East," said NATO secretary-general Josef Luns yesterday evening. Speaking at a banquet organized by the "Euro 9" club in southeast France, Luns said he was particularly perturbed by the Soviet's naval buildup. "Not only can the Soviet Union disturb or even paralyse the trade between the (NATO) allies within a definite area, but it is highly possible that Moscow has an over-all plan for domination over all the oceans." He said the (NATO) allies have a great superiority in surface fleets, but the Soviet submarine force is at least equal to that of the NATO states." He believed that in the near future the Soviet Union will build "very impressive nuclear-powered tactical aircraft carriers." Luns stressed the need for a "powerful, vigilant and united (Atlantic) alliance to cope with the challenge posed by a more complicated and more dangerous future." He also expressed satisfaction that Greece had returned to NATO's unified military command. [Text] [OW271358 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 27 Oct 80]

FRG MEDICAL EXHIBITION--Tianjin, October 17 (XINHUA)--A ten-day exhibition of medical apparatus and instruments sponsored by the International Fair and the Exhibition Services Company of the Federal Republic of Germany closed here today. The exhibits, supplied by over 70 industrial enterprises, included medical apparatus, dental and ophthalmological technology, electronic instruments, and veterinary instruments, as well as sophisticated ambulances. The exhibition, which drew 40,000 scientists and medical workers from various parts of China, was the first ever held in Tianjin after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and West Germany. It fostered mutual understanding and friendship, and promoted trade and technical exchanges. Scientists and technicians of China and West Germany had a technical discussion and exchanged their experiences. West German Ambassador Guenther Schoedel attended the opening ceremony. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 17 Oct 80]

MILITARY ACTION IN SOMALI --Cairo, October 25 (XINHUA)--Chief of staff of the Somali Armed Forces Major General Omar Haj Mohamed said in an interview with the Egyptian weekly AL-AZHAR AL-YAWM today that since September 18, Ethiopian forces backed by Soviet and Cuban forces and mercenaries are trying to bring about turmoil in Somalia, but they have failed and will never succeed. The Somali general added that the Soviet forces are behind these attacks and are concocting the plots. This was borne out by reactions to the Somali resolution to give facilities to the American forces at Berbera port. Omar Haj Mohamed who arrived here on October 23 to pay a 5-day visit to Egypt, said that he will meet with Egyptian Defence Minister Badawi on Sunday and added that the relations between the Egyptian and the Somali armed forces are stronger than any events. [Text] [OW261311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 26 Oct 80]

SOVIETS USE CAM RANH BAY--Manila, October 27 (XINHUA)--"Soviet expansion and improvement of Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam as a triple-threat military base should explode all illusions about the Kremlin's intentions in this area " said an article appearing in today's BULLETIN TODAY. "Already

in the final stages of completion, the base has been serving the military and naval needs of the Soviet Union in this part of the world. Already, the aircraft carrier 'Minsk' with a capacity of 39,000 tons has made its first call there. The military airport has been expanded to enable the big Tupolev transport planes to take off or land," it said. The article pointed out that "from Cam Ranh Bay ships and planes can easily reach Thailand in the West, Singapore and the Straits of Malacca to the south, the Philippines to the east and China to the north. Soviet heavy bombers from Cam Ranh Bay can reach the Straits of Malacca in two hours and seal that vital waterway to traffic." "Opening of the port facilities at Cam Ranh Bay will, likewise, enable the Soviet Pacific Fleet to push south of Vladivostok and give it freedom to roam the South China Sea," it added. The article emphasized that it is now clear to everyone who is threatening the peace in Southeast Asia. [Text] [OW270731 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 27 Oct 80]

NIGERIAN PRC EXHIBIT--Lagos, October 15 (XINHUA)--An exhibition of Chinese sculptures and carvings, sponsored by the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture, opened in the National Theatre here this evening. Over one hundred pieces of bronze, pottery, wood, stone, ivory, jade sculptures and carvings were on display. These works of art indicate how the Chinese artists have developed the art of sculpture and carving on the basis of their rich tradition. They depict of the different facets of life in China and that of various nationalities. Presiding over the opening ceremony, Minister Paulinus Amadike said that both China and Nigeria are members of the Third World community and that there are interesting similarities in the history of their arts. He said, "this exhibition will afford our two countries additional opportunities for further strengthening the already good cultural relations." After the ceremony, the minister and other guests saw the exhibition in the company of Chinese Ambassador Lei Yang. The Nigerian minister held a reception this evening on the occasion. The exhibition will remain open till October 26. [OW201113 Beijing XINHUA in English 0226 GMT 15 Oct 80]

SINGAPORE PHOTO, OPTICAL FAIR--Beijing, 17 Oct (XINHUA)--China's photographic and film equipment and optical instruments are being shipped from Tianjin port to the international photo technology and optical instruments fair to be held in the Singapore trade center from 20 to 23 November, the goods are to arrive by the end of this month. Also attending are Japan, West Germany, Britain, Malaysia and the host country, Singapore. The more than 230 Chinese exhibits include cameras, enlargers, cinecameras, projectors, microscopes and theodolites. Trade talks will be held during the fair. China now has over 20 major factories producing film and photographic equipment, including cinecameras, processors, projectors and optical lens of more than 150 kinds and specifications. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 17 Oct 80 OW]

ITO ON NORTHERN ISLANDS--Tokyo, October 27 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito yesterday expressed once again resolve to recover the four northern islands under Soviet occupation when he inspected Nosappu Cape, Nemuro Peninsula and watched Habomai Islands through a telescope. He arrived in Hokkaido on October 25 and told the press

yesterday that a package return of the northern territories is the desire of the entire Japanese people. Japan will continue its talks with the Soviet Union though this is difficult. He said that for the return of these islands, Japan "will not only have to deal with the Soviet Union but appeal to the whole world." When he returned here from Sapporo yesterday Ito made a report to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki on his tour and conveyed to him the desire of Nemuro citizens for him to make an inspection tour of the northern territories. [Text] [OW271349 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 27 Oct 80]

KAMPUCHEAN ATTACKS ON SRV--Bangkok, October 26 (XINHUA)--The Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces yesterday destroyed a helicopter parking apron in their attacks on the Vietnamese troops in Malai and Mak Heun mountainous areas. This was the heaviest fighting in these areas in the past two months, according to local press reports. Thai paper BAN MUANG reported today that the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea mounted a surprise attack on the Vietnamese troops in places within Kampuchea opposite Thailand's Aranyaprathet District, Prachinburi Province early yesterday morning. The battle lasted for one hour and a half. Heavy gunfire could be heard 16 kilometres from the fighting area which extended over ten kilometres. The report said that battalion commander Mitr Thiep of Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces told Thai correspondents that their battalion had separated into small groups to launch simultaneous attacks on the Osompo Bridge and the surrounding areas, making it impossible for the enemy to repair and build highways and bridges. [Text] [OW261328 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 26 Oct 80]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

VIEWS OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AS COLLECTIVE WISDOM EMPHASIZED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 15-18, 34

[Article by Jiang Zhesheng [5592 0772 3932] of the Historical Research Institute of the Shanghai College of Social Sciences: "A Brief Understanding of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] In his speech on the occasion of the 30th National Day Anniversary, Comrade Ye Jieying pointed out: "The Chinese communists and people regard Mao Zedong Thought as a result of the development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution, attributing all our victories to the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought without which there would have been no new China today. This assessment is entirely consistent with historical facts." A study of Comrade Ye Jieying's speech and a review of my own experiences in carrying out the revolution under the party's leadership and tutelage tell us that this speech was an accurate document which assesses events with a serious Marxist attitude and in a way that takes into account objective reality and in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. For this reason, it can withstand any tests in history. This speech should and can be used as a basis for solving some related problems that we face today.

A review of some serious mistakes committed by our party during the past 30 years and especially during the Great Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 has led some of our comrades to raise a series of questions as follows: Are there any imperfections in Mao Zedong Thought? Do we feel guilty of "covering up wrong doings" if we treat Comrade Mao Zedong's works in such a way as to regard their accurate contents as belonging to Mao Zedong Thought and the remainder connected with the mistakes made by the party not as part of Mao Zedong Thought? After Comrade Mao Zedong's death, should we continue to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought?

These questions largely stem from some comrades' misunderstanding of the relationship between Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Ye Jieying's speech explicitly pointed out: "Mao Zedong Thought resulted from an application and development of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution, and from integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." This remark tells us that Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific theory of the proletarian liberation movement, just like Marxism which came into being after Marx and his close comrades-in-arms such as Engels worked together to apply scientific methods to sum up the experiences of the proletarian political parties--the "Communist League" and the "International Workers' Association

(or the First International), and revolutionary people, and to convert them into a law governing a great historical movement and universal truth guiding the revolutionary struggles. This revolutionary theory was named after Marx because he was a great representative of the founders of this branch of science, just as Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding representative of the founders of Mao Zedong Thought. Through the struggles collectively carried out by our party and the people, he and his close comrade-in-arms Zhou Enlai and others worked together to apply Marxism to develop that scientific ideological system--a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. It goes without saying that as an individual, Comrade Mao Zedong was not born to be inalienably associated with that scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. Nonetheless, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, in order to attain their counter-revolutionary aim, they set in motion their propaganda machine on a round-the-clock basis to persuade the people to worship Comrade Mao Zedong as God and to regard "Mao Zedong Thought" as "Chairman Mao's thought." As a result, they created a confusion and a modern cult of worship in the people's minds. "The rise of the red sun from Shaoshan marks the beginning of a new era of human history" was a song in praise of Comrade Mao Zedong's birthday. The daily airing of this song over the years led some comrades to treat that scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought as purely a product of the wisdom of Comrade Mao Zedong himself. In fact, one's stand and viewpoint with regard to the development of the world do not originate from one's mother's womb, but evolve from certain ideas one shapes under specific historical conditions long after one's birth. Such stand and viewpoint are subject to changes as the time goes on. As far as his viewpoint was concerned, Karl Marx remained a Hegelian idealist upon his graduation from college. When he discussed his past in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "For myself, I used to have all sorts of non-Marxist ideas, and it was only later that I embraced Marxism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 382) This is a true story from history. But this does not imply that Marxism contains idealism and Mao Zedong Thought contains non-Marxist ideas. The reason is that the scientific Marxist system was not conceived and adopted by Marx before Marxism was founded. Likewise, all ideas Comrade Mao Zedong had before he became a Marxist differ in essence from Mao Zedong Thought which has been a principle guiding the work of our party.

Marxism holds that no revolutionary leader is God and perfect. In his play "Self-Torture," humorous Roman playwright Terentius said: "I am a human being. I inherit in my blood all characteristics of mankind." This motto indicates that whoever you are, you are a human being and you have weaknesses just like any other person. Whenever he spoke of his past, Marx quoted this motto. In 1865, he quoted it again in his "rejoinder" to a series of questions raised by the people all over Europe at that time. He repeatedly did so on the grounds that this motto truly reflected his personality and could be used to dispel any misunderstandings some Europeans had about him.

At a time of surveying the mistakes committed by the Marxist classic writers and their shortcomings, and assessing the correctness of the scientific system of Marxism, Lenin set a brilliant example for us to follow. In this connection, Lenin once said: "Surely, Marx and Engels made many mistakes and frequently erred in predicting the events to come. For example, they misjudged the timing of the revolution, and its victory (including the victory of the German revolution of 1848) and of the birth of the Republic of Germany (see *Serve the Republic* written by Engels after he took up the cudgels for the movement to defend the constitution of

the monarch from 1848 to 1849). Nevertheless, such judgments made by these two great revolutionary thinkers, however erroneous, were more decent, valuable, and greater than the clumsy wisdoms of those bureaucrat-libertarians who loudly claimed that the revolution was a meaningless business." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, pp 709-170) In addition, Lenin also hailed the Marxist theory as an "omnipotent and correct thesis."

Does Lenin's remark that "Marx and Engels made many mistakes and erred frequently" contradict his statement that Marxism is "correct" and "omnipotent?" No. A realistic analysis clearly shows that the former remark reflects only an insignificant episode or a brief intervening act in a long drama about the activities of the representatives of the founders of scientific theories. In analyzing such episodes, we must realize that their aim was to triumphantly advance the cause of the working class and that few great historical figures could ever avoid mistakes when they stood in the forefront guiding the march of events and, in a sense, their shortcomings can be a legacy beneficiary to the generations to come. In other words, "their shortcomings should be explained in the light of historical conditions so that people can understand; we should not be too critical of our predecessors." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5, p 312) The latter statement was a fair evaluation of our great revolutionary teachers who devoted their lifetime to seeking truth in defiance of frustrations, truth that has been proven universally applicable through practice. Furthermore, we must pay attention to the fact that when Lenin described Marxism as correct and omnipotent, it does not mean an unconditional endorsement of every remark, every thesis or instruction made or issued by Marx and Engels. In discussing his experiences in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Zedong often identified it as "universal truth" "basic theories or principles" as distinguished from other theses and instructions made public by Marx, Engels and Lenin and Stalin. In view of this, Marxism-Leninism deserves to be called "the crystallization of the most correct and most revolutionary scientific thought of the world proletariat." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 3, 994)

We must adopt the same scientific attitude and method in assessing and evaluating Mao Zedong Thought.

Mao Zedong Thought is a theory based on the practical experiences gained by our party and the Chinese people in carrying out the protracted revolutionary struggles under the guidance of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. From the outset, the members of the Chinese Communist Party (Comrade Mao Zedong included) did not know how to apply Marxism-Leninism to destroy the old and build the new in a populous country like ours. At the initial stage of the struggle, they certainly could not avoid making mistakes. They then applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to sum up their experiences (both correct and incorrect). Through a process of weeding out the rubbish and selecting the essential, discarding the false and retaining the true, they transformed what they intuitively perceived into rational knowledge, put it into practice and tested it out in order to enrich it. By persuading its members and cadres to keep in close touch with the masses, to listen to their voice and to put their knowledge through repeated practices, our party eventually deepened its understanding of the objective laws, and the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and transformed itself from a blind follower of Marxism-Leninism into a political organization capable of consciously applying it. As the "crystallization of the Chinese people's 50-year-old experiences in waging revolutionary struggles and in building a new society," Mao Zedong Thought is not merely

a parade or combination of both positive and negative experiences, but quintessence deriving from such experiences. As a result of practice and repeated tests by millions upon millions of Chinese people over the past 50 years, Mao Zedong Thought has gained a reputation as a veritable scientific system--a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese revolutionary practice. We really have no reason to cast any doubt on its correctness. This objective truth has nothing in common with the extreme form of egoism which influences people to "blame all faults on others and regard themselves as flawless persons" and to cover up their shortcomings.

Certainly, the aforementioned analysis will give rise to a demand for achieving a comprehensive and correct understanding of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and for applying it properly. During his lifetime, Comrade Mao Zedong consistently stressed the need to seek truth from facts. But toward the waning years of his life, he issued some instructions and decisions incompatible with objective reality. This occurred when he was surrounded by the "gang of four" and other bad elements who prevented him from getting into contact with the masses and reality. During that 10 long years of turmoil, vicious political ambition also drove Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their ilk to deliberately distort, chop up, tamper with and adulterate Mao Zedong Thought, thus creating a confusion in the people's minds about this otherwise comprehensive scientific theoretical system. Today when we endeavor to implement the party's political line and to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought to solve problems resulting from the realization of the four modernizations, we should, as was pointed out in Ye Jieying's speech, regard it as a product of collective wisdom pooled by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms and the party, and should integrate into a single ideological system major works by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades and the Party Central Committee's documents concerning our party's line, principles and policies. Only in this way can we systematically study and digest them along with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and fully appreciate and firmly grasp this fundamental ideological system which has been consistently applied by Comrade Mao Zedong and the party to observe and solve theoretical and practical problems in the revolution and has been verified as the truth through practice. Our primary task in the future is to effectively grasp and uphold the dialectical and historical materialist ideological line set forth by our party under Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership during the long period of revolutionary practice. In his speech, Ye Jieying described this ideological line as "the focal point of the proletarian world outlook, the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, the basis for formulating our political line and various principles and policies, and a key to success in correctly understanding and implementing the party's line, principles and policies." Only by persisting in upholding this ideological line of "taking actual conditions into account, seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice," can we fully comprehend and accurately apply the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. The fact that Mao Zedong Thought is not only indispensable to the development of the four modernizations but also cannot be estranged from the practice in struggle at home and abroad testifies to the truth that it is not only "omnipotent, but correct."

In the past, some individual comrades asked: Since Comrade Mao Zedong's death, should we still have to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? Guided by the commonsense about historical materialism, I have no alternative but to answer this question this way: the proletariat should respect rather than chop up its own history. Marxism--the scientific ideological system of the proletariat--embodies

almost everything of value to the centuries-old human civilization and culture. It not only absorbs but also transforms everything of value. This is why it has won a reputation as a thought of universal and historical significance. For example, in the 1970's Engels advised the proletarian leaders to translate works by the bourgeois atheist-thinkers in France like Adren Helvetius, who died nearly a century ago, and to widely disseminate them among the workers, commenting that "these works reflect the French achievements of the highest order both in form and content; even if they are measured by today's scientific standards, they remain highly valuable and are unsurpassed by their modern counterparts both in form and content." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, pp 591-592)

As far as the proletariat--the most revolutionary class in history--is concerned, no task is more important than to inherit its own ideological and theoretical system, a system which profoundly reflects the urgent need for the development of material well-being in society, and which can inspire millions upon millions of people to solve the problems of their concern and push society forward along a new course. Over 10 years after Karl Marx's death, Lenin thoroughly criticized and exposed the then Russian national elite group for smearing and distorting Marxism. In this connection, he resolutely pointed out: "The key to quick success in the revolution lies in the Russian socialists' ability to swiftly grasp Marxism as the only revolutionary theory and devote their full energy to apply it in Russia." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, pp 82-83) When he reviewed our party's experiences in the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars half a century away from Marx's death, Comrade Mao Zedong said: The basic principles of Marxism are "universally true because it is impossible for anyone to escape from its domain in his practice." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 269) In disputing this essential truth, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alleged that since Marx and Lenin died long ago, their theories must now be outdated. Their aim was to viciously discredit Marxism-Leninism and to estrange the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism from the Chinese revolutionary practice and to negate Mao Zedong Thought despite their open declaration of "being boundlessly loyal to Mao Zedong Thought." I believe that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism will be valid for a long time to come and will significantly guide our cause forward; the argument that Marxism-Leninism is outdated is unworthy of comment. On the other hand, we must thoroughly eliminate the influence of this fallacy and forever hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism during our march forward. Marxism-Leninism symbolizes an endless search for truth. It represents a boundless power of vitality at the service of the world's revolutionary people. It can guide them to open a new path toward knowing truth through practice. In other words, Marxism-Leninism can develop only through the expansion of the revolutionary struggles in various countries. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people regard Mao Zedong Thought as a result of the practice of Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese revolution. Furthermore, Mao Zedong Thought embodies significant progress in three major aspects of Marxism. The victory of the revolution and construction won by China over the past 50 years means a victory for Mao Zedong Thought--the Chinese brand of Marxism-Leninism. During the Democratic Revolution, we mainly relied on three magic weapons--the united front, the armed struggle and the building of the Party--to completely overthrow the rule of the three major enemies. A review of our work over the past 30 years following the birth of new China proves our political line to be correct. The four basic principles consistently promoted by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai--allegiance to the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the CCP leadership, and the cause of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of

the socialist revolution and construction in China; the "On the Ten Major Relationships" and a series of theories, lines and policies on socialist construction published by Comrade Mao Zedong in response to China's needs at that time; the thesis on the correct handling of the two different types of social contradictions; the basic cultural and political policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend;" the basic socialist political requirement for creating a political situation in which there are both unity of will and personal happiness and liveliness in the party and throughout the country; the strategic concept of three worlds and foreign policy--all these will remain to be our victorious banner and powerful weapons to defeat subversive enemies at home and abroad, to correct our mistakes in work, to withstand severe tests, and to build China into an advanced and powerful socialist country so as to make a greater contribution to humanity.

In his speech, Comrade Ye Jiaying solemnly declared to the world: "The Chinese people will forever remember Comrade Mao Zedong's immortal contributions, and are determined to defend and develop the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought." This remark expresses the aspirations of the entire party and the people throughout the country. Awaiting us now is a great task handed down by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation to build China into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology. We firmly believe that by holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the people throughout the country under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee and the State Council certainly can conclude this task with better and faster results.

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PARTY AND STATE

NPC HAILED FOR EXERCISING DEMOCRATIC RIGHT, STARTING REFORMS

Free Expression of Will

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[Today's Talk by Chen Ping [2525 1627]: "A Talk on 'One Abstention'"]

[Text] On its closing day, the Third Session of the Fifth NPC adopted a proposed amendment to "Article 45 of the Constitution of the PRC." After the voting was counted, its executive chairman Peng Zhen corrected an earlier announcement, saying: "The vote for the amendment to Article 45 of the constitution was not unanimous, because one deputy abstained." This announcement was very interesting.

When the People's Congress is in session, each deputy is entitled to one vote on any resolution. He may vote for or against it or abstain. This normal exercise of the democratic right must be preceded by careful and serious deliberations. But in our country, the "unanimous passage" of resolutions through the people's congresses at all levels has long been the case most familiar to our ears. Was the voting really unanimous? If the answer is yes in most cases, the soundness of our democratic centralism would be in doubt. Although deputies often unanimously raised their hands in favor of certain resolutions through a roll call, it was not necessarily an indication of "an agreement" from the bottom of their hearts. When Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company held sway over the political life inside and outside the party, no deputy dared to cast a negative vote. If he did, he would have no way of escaping an investigation which marked the beginning of an end to his political career. In those old days, who could freely express their will?

Although I personally discourage any negative vote against the resolution on amendment to Article 45 of the constitution or abstention, I highly admire the democratic atmosphere in which the Third Session of the Fifth NPC was conducted and the courage displayed by that deputy in expressing an opinion different from others. Political democracy will prevail as long as we uphold the system to grant the people the right to freely express their will.

Reform in Significant Ways

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[oday's Talk by Wang Yufeng (3769 3768 0023): "Trifling Matters Reflect a New Spirit"]

[Text] In its editorial entitled "A Democratic Congress, A Congress of Reform," RENMIN RIBAO used the phrase "trifling matters reflect a new spirit" to praise the Third Session of the Fifth NPC for pushing through many reforms. These reforms not only touch matters of principle but also trifling and specific aspects of political life. Apart from those minor reforms already published in the newspapers, I would like to point out many others known to me. Among them were the disappearance of slogans from the meeting hall except for a large streamer hung across the rostrum of the Presidium; the resolution on banning deputies from bringing their own secretaries and other aides to the session with the exception of the aging and ailing deputies who could not take care of themselves; the decision to transfer the personnel of nearby government offices to work for the Third Session of the Fifth NPC so that they didn't have to live in hotels and eat at restaurants at government expense; the cancellation of privileges formerly granted to deputies to see movies and Beijing operas free of charge.

When the NPC was in session last year, its deputies and staff were served food at 11 pm every day. During the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, only those comrades who worked late into midnight were served food.

The reform of the unreasonable rules and regulations and elimination of archaic systems call for action and must take into account both long-term and short-term interests. The reform must touch every aspect of political life. Only in this way will the reform not be criticized as "something that can never materialize." As far as the reform is concerned, the Third Session of the Fifth NPC has got off to a good start. I sincerely hope that the reform movement will soon spread to every aspect of life.

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PARTY AND STATE

ZHAO ZIYANG'S PROMOTION EXAMINED

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80 pp 27-33

[Article by Qi Xin [7871 6580]: "The Background and Outlook of the Advancement in position of Zhao Ziyang--The Bombardment of Chinese Communist Newspapers at the Errors and Failures of the Economic Departments and Their Affirmation of the Economic Reforms Carried Out in Sichuan Are the Main Background of the Personnel Changes This Time"]

[Text] The 14th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress that came to a close on 16 April this year announced that the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress is to be convened in August this year. Since that time, a series of changes in the ongoing state of affairs has invariably indicated that this Session of the Congress is likely to make a number of important decisions. The most noticeable of these are of course personnel changes such as Zhao Ziyang's succession to Hua Guofeng as premier of the State Council and the resignation of Deng Xiaoping and others as vice premiers. But hidden behind these changes are also many more important, major differences relating to the national economy and livelihood of the people, and economic changes and reforms brought about on account of those differences. The relevant background in this regard has also gradually revealed itself in the course of July and August.

Public opinion overseas in the past usually considered the meeting of the National People's Congress an application of the rubber stamp, since all decisions of the Chinese Communist Party were still usually made by the Party Central Committee or the party's meetings. This is of course also true. In addition, the Chinese Communists time and again indicated that they are going to insist on "leadership by the Communist Party"; this is tantamount to admitting this fact without any attempt to hide it. But, is party leadership, as in the past, a case of control intended for all matters, big or small, or is it now concerned only with the determination of some general orientations by way of so-called "ideological leadership" while leaving administrative matters to the fully authorized autonomous disposal of the State Council? It seems that the Chinese Communist authorities have now woken up from the errors of their former type of practice and thus are inclined toward the latter view.

From the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee concluded in March this year, this tendency toward the separation of the party from the government could already be seen. At that time, two members, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, were elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau; the Central Secretariat was set up, with Hu Yanbang as general secretary; although Zhao Ziyang

was a member of the Standing Committee, he did not join the Secretariat, which indicated that he was going to take up an important post on the State Council and carry out "party leadership" on the State Council on the basis of his very status as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. By the middle of April, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress appointed Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li as vice premiers of the State Council; when Deng Xiaoping accepted an interview by an Italian journalist on 17 April, Zhao Ziyang was vice premier for Standing Affairs on the State Council.

During the 2 or 3 months thereafter, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly indicated to foreign visitors that he was going to retire. By the end of June, Hu Yaobang indicated in a conversation with a Yugoslav journalist that a whole series of measures was being prepared for adoption in order to prevent excessive concentration of power, that the practice of granting lifelong tenure was to be abolished, and that efforts were being made to let younger persons around 60 years of age take up posts of responsibility. On 10 July, Bo Yibo hinted to a visitor that Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping would "lay down their duties as premier and vice premier." Thereafter, on 27 July, Li Xiannian indicated to deputy editor-in-chief Sulzberger of THE NEW YORK TIMES that Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Wang Zhen and he himself (Li Xiannian) were going to resign from their posts as premier and vice premiers. Besides, NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY reported in a news item that Yao Yilin was chairman of the State Planning Commission and Yu Qiuli was chairman of the State Energy Commission; this revealed that Yao Yilin had already replaced Yu Qiuli at the important post of chairman of the Planning Commission.

During July and August, RENMIN RIBAO and other Chinese Communist newspapers started to bombard the Chinese Communist economic departments. Most sensational was the story about the major event of the capsizing and sinking of the oil drilling rig "Bohai No. 2"; then it was criticism of the Wuhan Steel Plant's importation of the "1.7 meter steel-cutting works," criticism of the Dagang oil field and the civil aviation bureau. Prior to all this, there were also criticism of "promotion of the Dazhai experience" and Bo Yibo's criticism to a Japanese visitor of the Baoshan Steel Plant's importation of foreign technology. This series of bombardments directly or indirectly reproached Communist China's Petroleum Ministry, State Planning Commission, Economic Commission, Capital Construction Commission, Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, Civil Aviation Bureau; they criticized the policies and concrete measures of the State Council in promoting the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" movement and in importing foreign technologies between 1975 and 1978.

This expose by the Chinese Communist newspapers of the major errors and failures of the economic departments not only reflected differences on economic policy in the upper strata of the Chinese Communist Party during the past few years, but also reflected forthcoming policy orientation and personnel changes.

Bombardment at the Economic Departments

The oil drilling rig "Bohai No. 2" capsized and sank on 25 November last year. But not until 22 July this year did RENMIN RIBAO report this serious incident, and the newspaper also criticized by name "the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau of the Petroleum Ministry." Seventy-two persons died in this incident, and total loss was

put at more than 37 million yuan (people's currency). RENMIN RIBAO's report pointed out that the occurrence of this incident "was by no means accidental, but a result of the fact that the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau for a long time had overlooked safety work and failed to respect objective laws in its oceanic oil drilling production. According to only incomplete statistics from 1975 to 1979, incidents of various kinds which occurred under the jurisdiction of the Bureau numbered as many as 1,043 (of which more than 30 were major incidents), resulting in the death of 105 persons and serious injury of 114 persons; economic losses were staggering. After the occurrence of these incidents, in most cases, no effort was made to mobilize the masses to seriously sum up experience and to try to solve the hidden causes behind the events."

What was sensational about the incident of "Bohai No. 2" was not the death of people and loss of money but the continuous expose through this incident by the Chinese Communist newspapers of the bureaucracy and bad working style which ignored questions of life and death concerning the workers as exemplified by the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau of the Petroleum Ministry. "Bohai No. 2" was imported from abroad in 1973; but this drilling rig's "stability calculation statement" was written in a foreign language and the material was never translated for study; not until the occurrence of the incident did the Tianjin Municipal People's Procuratorate, for the sake of investigating the case, ask someone to have it translated.

According to the report, when "Bohai No. 2" capsized, tug No. 282, which was responsible for tugging the rig on its voyage, even "failed to issue international s.o.s. signals immediately according to navigation regulations and ascertain the position of the rig, but, instead, it was unable to report the accurate position of the sunk rig for quite some time, and the lifeboats and liferafts on the tug, too, were not launched to save the victims" (RENMIN RIBAO, 25 July).

Besides, a "small incident" exposed in the report of GONGREN RIBAO likewise fully revealed the ugly faces of certain leading cadres of the Oceanic Oil Exploration Bureau: "At one time, a worker of 'Bo 4' fell on the rig and was wounded; his wound was serious, and he was in a coma. The drilling rig requested the Bureau to despatch urgently a helicopter to save him. The helicopter came, and in it sat Sun Zhiye [1327 3112 2814], head of the drilling department, and the head of another oceanic engineering department. Because the helicopter could only accommodate three persons, the captain and the guide explained the situation and asked them to get down so that the worker could be sent ashore to be taken care of. The head of the oceanic engineering department alighted from the helicopter, but department head Sun stubbornly refused to budge; drilling team cadres pleaded with him with profuse apologies, but he was still not moved. Finally, a worker had to be asked to kneel in the cabin in order to take care of the wounded, while department head Sun sat in the cabin in grand style without lifting a hand."

After reading such related reports, any conscientious person would have his blood boiling in his veins, for this was no longer any question of bureaucracy but the correct name should be: "cold-blooded animal." Compared to such ugly scenes in reality, the problems of cadre privileges and bureaucracy described in the literary works of new realism are too insignificant, indeed.

The spearhead of the incident "Bohai No. 2" was thus pointed toward the Petroleum Ministry. Then, on 11 August, RENMIN RIBAO published a "letter from the correspondent" which even more directly and explicitly criticized the Dagang oil field, pointing

out that its "departments in charge lacked overall planning. Production of various plants was uncoordinated, resulting in huge waste." The letter pointed out: In the case of the Dagang electricity plant, because no consideration was given at the time it was constructed as to the amount of fuel that could possibly be supplied by the Tianjin oil refinery, even though the amount of US \$86 million was spent to import from abroad two power-generating assembling units of 320,000-kilowatt capacity each, at a total investment of nearly 500 million yuan, but because fuel supply turned out to be insufficient, one assembling unit could not operate for a long time, nor could the other assembling unit give full scope to its role. Thus, each year the electricity generated was 2.1 billion kilowatts less, an equivalent to half of the electricity for industrial use in Tianjin Municipality. Apart from this, in the case of the Tianjin petrochemical fibre plant being constructed, after it is launched into production, it will need 180,000 tons of naphtha as its principal raw material, and such naphtha also depends on the Tianjin oil refinery's supplies. But the department in charge has long ago put down a great amount of investment to let the Tianjin oil refinery produce jet fuel; this makes it impossible for the refinery to produce 180,000 tons of naphtha each year at the same time. The petrochemical fibre plant is going to put in the raw material and try out its machines the next half of this year; since the raw material problem is still not solved, this key works with an investment of 1.3 billion yuan is bound to become completely stopped, or semi-stopped, in its operations.

The criticism of the Dagang oil field and industrial district touched upon the big questions of importation of large-type equipment and the state's overall planning, and the criticism of the Wuhan Steel Plant and the Baoshan Steel Plant for their importation of foreign equipment also turned its spearhead toward the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, even though no names were specified.

Wuhan Steel Plant's "1.7 meter steel-cutting works" was imported from West Germany; the state invested several billion yuan. It took 5 or 6 years from construction planning to the gradual start at successive points of its production. "Only after it was launched into production was it discovered that there was not enough raw material, nor enough electric power, and certain energy media (water, electricity, gas, air, wind) were lacking; thus there was a shortage of this and of that... In the end, the equipment was first-rate, but the quantity of production was low, the cost was high, and the products were not competitive; not only were they unable to enter the international market, but their outlets for domestic sales were also very limited." Several billion yuan thus went down the drain!

Another example of wrong importation of foreign technology was the Baoshan Steel Plant. Two years ago, Chinese Communist leaders criticized Japanese merchants as being dishonest since they did not provide the Baoshan Steel Plant with the most advanced technical equipment; thereafter, the Japanese side made some adjustments according to China's demands and brought in first-rate technology accordingly. But on 3 July Bo Yibo indicated to Japanese visitors that "the Baoshan Steel Plant is neither the path nor the model to work on modernization; it has already become the Chinese people's cumbersome burden. What China needs from now on is not to import first-rate technology but to combine with China's actual situation and mainly pay attention to carrying out improvements on the basis of existing technology, and import foreign technology under this principle. But construction of those parts of the Baoshan Steel Plant for which contracts have already been signed will continue to be carried out hereafter."

Since the Baoshan Steel Plant imported the most advanced equipment, why did it become China's burden? It has become known that the Japanese equipment was designed according to Japan's situation. Japan lacks natural resources; since iron ores and coal have to be imported anyway, it is better to use such iron ores and coal of the highest quality so that better results can be achieved. For this reason, there was pertinent accommodation in the design of the machines to be used. China adopted Japan's first-rate equipment, but the quality of its iron ores and coal is not good enough and hence cannot be used to the greatest advantage according to the design of these machines; as a result, high prices had to be paid in order to import good enough iron ores and coal from Australia, Brazil, and places of the like. China itself does not lack iron ores and coal; yet it was forced to import iron ores and coal from foreign countries just because it wanted to import advanced equipment. This constitutes quite a grievance, indeed. In particular, the Shanghai harbor is rather shallow, and large vessels find it hard to dock there; thus the raw materials needed had to rely on Japan for entrepot facilities--that is, they must be first transported to Japan by large vessels, and then transferred by Japan with small vessels to Shanghai. Because of this, not a little transportation fees have been added.

In an article in which he examined the "1.7 meter steel-cutting works," the Baoshan Steel Plant's translator Meng Xiancheng [1322 2009 2052] quoted the words of a West German expert: "I don't understand why you must import such expensive equipment. In the case of some key items of equipment such as electronic computers, there are not very many who can understand them even in our own country. After you have purchased them at a high price, you cannot use them, do not know how to repair them, nor have any spare parts. We use them because we have a small population and labor power is very expensive. What you have is plenty of people; you may buy certain cheaper and not so advanced things in order to use more people. You can also manage well; so long as you produce continuously, you can still make money. Any equipment must be able to make money. It will not be too late after you have trained competent people and can then import the most advanced equipment."

RENMIN RIBAO affirmed the stance of Meng Xiancheng and the West German expert's opinion that he quoted. On 11 August, RENMIN RIBAO even published an editorial to point out that in the work of importing advanced technology and equipment from abroad, "there existed for a long time a 'Left' tendency in thinking of the largest scale and demanding the greatest speed" and, because of improper importation, "the comprehensive balance of the national economy has come to be affected, and the situation of disproportionate development has also come to be aggravated." These ill effects have been concretely reflected in the fact that the scale of the imports was too large; no consideration was given to the country's lack of matching manufacturing and operational capability, technical level, management level, and foreign exchange payment capability; there was a great deal of blind urge involved; the proportionate imports in agriculture, light industry and heavy industry were improper, with too many in heavy industry, too few in light and textile industries, while the amount of money spent on imports in communications and transportation enterprises in the past 30 years made up only 0.5 percent of the total, and the amount of money on imports directly used in agriculture was practically equal to zero; too many whole sets of equipment were imported, as they made up more than 90 percent of the total amount of money used on imports, but little money was

really used on the importation of technology. "Furthermore, because certain imports were put to use in a hurry and hence failed to function properly after much construction work, their economic results turned out to be far from satisfactory; in the case of certain items, no one took the responsibility; hence up to millions and tens of millions of yuan's worth of equipment were left idle in the warehouses, exposed in the wilderness, subject to abuse by the elements until mildewed, rusty, and ruined. All this constituted a waste of the people's blood and sweat."

Besides, criticisms of the Civil Aviation Bureau and the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" movement also touched on those who have been in charge of the economic departments of the State Council since the Fourth National People's Congress (1975). Put more clearly, this means that the dereliction of duty on the part of the vice premiers and ministers of the State Council in charge of the State Planning Commission, the Economic Commission, the Capital Construction Commission, the Ministry for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, the Petroleum Ministry, and also those in charge of the work of the agricultural departments since 1975 has now been publicly criticized in the newspapers. The nature of the errors committed by these people is very different from the case of the "whatever faction" like Wang Dongxin and others; in the latter case, they perhaps because of old age, were rather conservative, tended to make-do with whatever happened to be on hand, got used to the old ways of doing things or a bureaucratic working style or problems of the like, and hence became derelict in their duties. But the economic problem is the key to the stability of political power; this is no exception to any country in the world. If the economy is not handled well, the political power will not be stable; leaders lacking the competence to solve the economic problems are bound to be dismissed from their offices, no matter what reasons are cited when they are dismissed.

The Big Change of Personnel at the State Council

In connection with the bombardment of the economic departments by the Chinese Communist newspapers, we might as well make an estimate as to what personnel changes are likely to be made on the State Council at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

The First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in February 1978. At that time a premier and 13 vice premiers were elected. Of these 14 persons, 11 continued or were promoted from their term established by the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975; 3 were new in their office. The namelist of these 14 is as follows: Hua Guofeng (promoted), Deng Xiaoping (continuation), Li Xiannian (continuation), Xu Xiangqian (new in office), Ji Dengkui (continuation), Yu Qiuji (continuation), Chen Xilian (continuation), Geng Biao (new in office), Chen Yongkui (continuation), Fang Yi (promoted, serving as minister for economic relations with foreign countries during the Fourth National People's Congress), Wang Zhen (continuation), Gu Mu (continuation), Kang Shi'en (promoted, serving as petroleum minister during the Fourth National People's Congress), and Chen Muhua (new in office).

This State Council group basically maintained its original shape of 1975, especially in the economic departments. Absent were only Zhang Chunqiao, Wu Guoixian, and Sun Jian, the three who were involved with the "gang of four."

Among these 14 persons, Yu Qiuli served concurrently as chairman of the State Planning Commission; Kang Shi'en, concurrently as chairman of the State Economic Commission; Fang Yi, concurrently as chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission; and Chen Muhua, concurrently as minister of economic relations with foreign countries. The importation by the state of large-type foreign technical equipment and the undertaking of capital construction and economic planning were held basically in the hands of these people. The huge economic plan presented by Hua Guofeng at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, which deviated from realities, was formulated by this very group.

A conceptualization at the time was to exploit and export petroleum in large quantity in exchange for the world's most advanced technologies and equipment. But it appears that the Petroleum Ministry has rather great problems, and the most advanced equipment purchased with foreign exchange has also proved to be unsuitable to China's actual conditions. Therefore, the economic plan proposed at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was basically an adventurous plan. Hua Guofeng proposed to employ the mode of great joint battles to work on 120 large-type construction projects, and also thought of achieving 10 or so Daqings; conceptualizations of this sort partook especially the color of "coveting greatness and demanding speed" of the Great Leap Forward period. The Chinese Communist cadres and people who had learned all necessary lessons could no longer bear another Great Leap Forward.

In agriculture, Hua Guofeng presided over two conferences under the theme "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" respectively at the end of 1975 and 1976. Those who were in charge of agricultural work after the 1978 Fifth National People's Congress reportedly included Ji Dengkuei, Wang Zhen, Chen Yonggwei and others. Very obviously, promotion of agricultural growth by the method of spreading the Dazhai experience not only failed to attain anticipated results but also sabotaged the productive forces.

Agricultural and industrial targets proposed at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978 still placed emphasis on the production of foodgrain and steel; that is to say, the principle of Mao Zedong's "taking foodgrain as the key link" and "taking steel as the key link" was still to be implemented.

A situation of serious disproportionate development began to appear less than 1 year after the plan with its "high targets" proposed by the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978 was put into operation. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee at the end of 1978 proposed the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement. The Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress held in July 1979 appointed three new vice premiers, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, and Yao Yilin; it also established the Financial and Economic Commission, with Chen Yun as its chairman, Li Xiannian as its vice chairman, and Yao Yilin as its general secretary; its members included Yu Qiuli, Wang Zhen, Gu Mu, Fang Yi, Wang Renzhong, Chen Guodong, Kang Shi'en, Zhang Jinghu, and Jin Ming. The three seniors, Chen Yun, Bo Yibo, and Yao Yilin, were all fairly good at managing economic affairs. In 1979, the national economy of the China mainland was thus subject to readjustment under the leadership of the Financial and Economic Commission headed by Chen Yun, and it also obtained fairly conspicuous results.

The readjustment policy of Chen Yun and others was to suppress certain large-type construction projects at key points, slow down industrial development, and put emphasis on the agriculture and light industries which are related to people's livelihood so as to improve it. These measures were beneficial to the people, but they affected the growth rate of the industries. From figures, no growth rate of a high speed can be derived; nor are there any magnificent, large-type construction projects launched into operation to satisfy the vain glory of "modernization." One cannot imagine that the moderate economy of Chen, Bo and Yao was to be smoothly implemented. Among the members of the Financial and Economic Commission were included financial and economic leaders appointed by the Fourth National People's Congress (1975); it was precisely they who formulated the magnificent economic plan that deviated from realities. Hence, it was impossible for them to agree completely with the readjustment policy of Chen Yun and others. In the period of more than 1 year from the latter half of 1979 up to the present, one can believe that argument between different opinions on the part of the Chinese Communist leading strata in the economic realm must have been quite vehement.

From the nationwide point of view, what was implemented by Chen, Bo, and Yao was mainly the readjustment policy. From the point of view of individual provinces, there was also a restructuring of the economic system respectively carried out in Sichuan and Anhui with an expansion of enterprise autonomy as its characteristic. Under the condition of good results obtained, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee decided early this year to transfer the first secretary of the Sichuan party committee Zhao Ziyang and the first secretary of the Anhui party committee Wan Li to the Central Headquarters. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress meeting in April appointed the two as vice premiers, and Zhao Ziyang was named vice premier for standing affairs. It appears that their restructuring policy is going to be implemented across the country.

In 1978 there were altogether 14, with the premier counted with the vice premiers; last year the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress added three; later on, Ji Pengfei was also added. This year, two more were added, making the total 20. With Chen Xilian and Ji Dengkuei dismissed from their office as vice premiers in April this year, the premier and the vice premiers now number 18. It has already become known that Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xianqian and Wang Zhen will all resign at the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress because of old age. Thus, at least 8 of the 14 first appointed in 1978 are going to leave the office of the premier and vice premiers.

When Zhao Ziyang becomes premier, the list of cabinet officials is bound to be suggested by him. That will be a good time to have certain vice premiers derelict in their duties replaced. Because, if they are dismissed before then, it would suggest that, like Chen Xilian and Ji Dengkuei, they have committed serious errors; but if the new premier is allowed to provide a new cabinet list, then those excluded would not feel that there is anything unsavory involved, since they are then not dismissed but just not selected into the cabinet. Chen Yongguei, who originally served as vice premier, is for sure not going to be on the list. Whether or not another few vice premiers who had become obstacles on the road to progress in the course of the implementation of the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement in the economy are also going to be

excluded from the new cabinet list is not yet known at this time. On the other hand, Yang Dazhi, Hu Qiaomu and others who were elected into the Secretariat during the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee seem very likely to become members of the forthcoming cabinet.

Because the premier is replaced and a new cabinet list is proposed, the State Planning Commission, Economic Commission, Capital Construction Commission, and the Petroleum Ministry are also likely to change their responsible personnel. Thus, a great change is likely to take place in the group of premier and vice premiers appointed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978. Among the premier and vice premiers appointed in 1978, at best five are going to be included in the new cabinet. Genuine power in the forthcoming State Council is believed likely to fall on Vice Premiers Zhao Ziyang, Yao Yilin, Bo Yibo, Wan Li, and Ji Pengfei, who were not appointed until after 1978.

Administrative Achievements in Sichuan Cause Zhao Ziyang's Promotion

No doubt, Zhao Ziyang is going to become one of those attracting the greatest Attention in the Chinese Communist political arena. (Another such person is believed to be Hu Yaobang.) Many people are interested in his background and experience. It is a pity that materials on him personally have been rarely reported.

Zhao Ziyang is a native of Henan; born in 1919, he is now 61 years old. In 1948 he served as secretary of the party committee of the Henan-Hubei-Anhui region; in 1950, he served as secretary of the district party committee of Nanyang, Henan Province. In 1951, he was transferred to Guangdong to work. In 1955, he served as deputy secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and was promoted to third secretary of the provincial committee in the same year; in 1962, he became second secretary of the provincial committee, and in 1965 he became first secretary of the provincial committee and secretary of the party's Central-South Bureau. At that time, 46-year-old Zhao Ziyang was the youngest among the provinces of the whole country. After 1 year as first secretary, the Cultural Revolution broke out. In January 1967, Tao Zhu fell; Zhao Ziyang was also designated as "the biggest capitalist roader under Tao Zhu" and subject to open criticism and struggle; he was also purged.

In 1971, Zhao Ziyang was "liberated" and transferred to Inner Mongolia, where he worked as secretary of the party committee and deputy director of the revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. In April 1972, he was transferred to the post of secretary of the provincial party committee and deputy director of the revolutionary committee of Guangdong. In 1974, he became first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. In December 1975, he was transferred to the post of first secretary of the Provincial Party Committee of Sichuan, where he served until early this year. Zhao Ziyang was then transferred upward to the Central Headquarters, and elected to membership on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Since the founding of the state by the Chinese Communist Party, Zhao Ziyang has worked most of the time in Guangdong. His administrative achievements in Guangdong were not particularly outstanding; but there are reasons for this. First of all,

before 1965 he was not No. 1 in command in Guangdong, and Tao Zhu, as No. 1 in command, was a rather sharp fellow. Under such circumstances, according to the Chinese Communist system, it was very hard for Zhao Ziyang to demonstrate any outstanding performances. Secondly, in Guangdong Tao Zhu erroneously belabored "localism" and ejected indigenous cadres; although Zhao was not a native of Guangdong, it was not appropriate for him to adopt greater independence toward the Central Headquarters. But it so happened that from 1957 on, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee promoted a Left erroneous line; under the premise of an emphasis on the unified leadership of the Central Headquarters, it was also hard for local cadres to aim at creative achievements. Thirdly, after Zhao Ziyang was "liberated" in 1971, his stay in Inner Mongolia lasted only 1 short year; in Guangdong he stayed from 1972 to 1975. At that time, the Cultural Revolution did not yet come to a close, and his work was hamstrung in many ways; in addition, the influence of Huang Yongsheng and Ding Sheng still remained in Guangdong, it was hard even for someone determined to do good work to demonstrate anything.

At the end of 1975, Zhao Ziyang was transferred to Sichuan. The eventful 1976 immediately followed. At that time, it was hard for a cadre like Zhao Ziyang even to preserve himself, let alone to go against the intent of the central authorities upon "grasping revolution" and do any good job on production.

Therefore, the period in which Zhao Ziyang really fully devoted himself to the work on provincial affairs and did so relatively independently without too many handicaps began only after the smashing of the "gang of four" at the end of 1976.

What Zhao Ziyang had to begin to put together was a messy stall. At this time in 1976, this "Heavenly Kingdom of Abundance" traditionally known for its rich products actually became a province suffering serious foodgrain shortage. Beggars could be seen wandering in the street everywhere in cities such as Chongqing and Chengdu. In the countryside, peasants were selling their children in order to avoid starving to death. The shelves of department stores in the cities and in the countryside alike were regularly empty. Production at factories and in the fields fell to a state of semi-inactivity. At the time, provinces of the whole country were overshadowed by an atmosphere of confusion, slowdown, minimum efficiency, and distrust between people, but the situation was even more serious in Sichuan because Sichuan had a population of 960 million, which made up 10 percent of the nation's total, and factional warfare during the Cultural Revolution had also been staged in a most drastic manner: Rival groups had confronted each other on either shore of the Jialing River and attacked each other with such heavy weapons as tanks.

After the fall of the "gang of four," an ambitious Zhao Ziyang immediately proposed: Sichuan, in an area of heavy disaster during the Cultural Revolution, now was prepared to issue its challenge to Shandong, the most advanced province of the whole country, as a response to the call for "Preliminary Results in 1 Year, Great Results in 3 Years." Insofar as this call was concerned, in terms of the economy of the whole country, most areas failed to achieve the expected results. But Sichuan basically achieved them, and Shandong, because of the serious "internal wound" it suffered during the Cultural Revolution, was soundly defeated.

In order to understand the people's conditions and win the support of the masses, Zhao Ziyang conducted an inspection of more than 60 counties like a hurricane. He

went to factories, the fields, and listened to the complaints of the workers and peasants and immediately, honestly and practically discussed the problems with the people and the methods to solve them.

For example, in the countryside, Zhao Ziyang witnessed the peasants complaining that three seasons of farming work each year made them too busy and that their life was also harsh, and he came to realize that the reason harvests of these places left so much to be desired had to do with intervals of draught and lack of sufficient irrigation. Zhao Ziyang therefore suggested that, if irrigation fell short when there were three seasons of work each year, then why did they not try only two seasons a year but at the same time improve their irrigation, select good seeds, and increase their fertilizers? If the three seasons were thus changed into two seasons, and if harvests of the two seasons turned out to be plentiful whereas harvests of three seasons would remain meager, then the result would be like that of 2 multiplied by 5, which is larger than that of 3 multiplied by 3. Even if the absolute figure should not show any increase, so long as the reduction turns out to be minimum, labor power can at least be spared to attend to sideline enterprises and other kinds of production. After the peasants adopted his suggestion and went through practice, it was proved that this actually augmented the absolute figure of foodgrain production.

Besides, when Zhao Ziyang saw that some places had poor harvests because of draught, he also encouraged the peasants to plant dry season crops such as wheat, corn, potato, etc.

In the course of his inspection of the countryside, he saw that the question of agricultural mechanization all along emphasized by the central authorities actually was by no means anything urgently needed because "the greatest benefit of mechanization itself is to save labor power, but it does not necessarily increase production very much, and especially in areas of plenty of land and very few people, its effect on production increase is very limited." "If a great deal of labor power is saved from mechanization, and such surplus labor power cannot be arranged well, then there will be even additional social problems." "Therefore, on the question of agricultural modernization, we should first of all emphasize and study the application of modern science and technology in agriculture." In the past, in order to work on mechanization we often only cared about the production of tractors, thinking that this was namely to provide support to agriculture. But, "why were many tractors driven on highways and seldom into the fields? This shows that transportation is more important than ploughing the fields. In so many years of the past, no study was done on the reason why tractors were driven on highways." "This illustrates that tractors are needed, but mechanization of transportation is even more needed" (article quoted is published in HONGQI, No. 1, 1980).

Zhao Ziyang saw that the reason the peasants exhibited no great enthusiasm in production was mainly because they had no power to make their own decisions; production plans, distribution questions, and management questions were all decided and sent down from above and not brought about on the basis of democracy. He proposed to put emphasis on a production team's autonomy, to readjust and increase the peasants' reserved lots to an appropriate extent, to let a production brigade operate enterprises and readjust the deployment of crop planting according to local conditions (that is, decide the planting of certain kinds of crops on the basis of

natural conditions such as soil, source of water, etc., and not entirely on "Taking Foodgrain as the Key Link"). He also proposed to fix output quotas based on the production group, and to have pigs raised by specialty groups and specialty households. For example, Zhao Ziyang many times asked certain responsible cadres in Chengdu who were working on agriculture as to why, with so many ponds in the Chengdu area, people did not raise fish? They repeatedly answered that there were still many problems, such as lack of feed, need to provide food for those who raise such fish, etc. Zhao Ziyang then said: Why don't you just fix some quotas based on the household, so that whoever knows how to raise fish would get to do so; let the output quotas be fixed, but not so high. These cadres replied that, so long as you say so, fish can certainly be raised. They never mentioned the question of feed again.

Under such countryside policies, the agriculture in Sichuan developed rapidly. Grain production increased from the 50 billion jin in 1976 to 55 billion jin in 1977, and 60 billion jin in 1978. In 1979, Sichuan suffered serious draught; but grain production still increased by 2 billion jin. More importantly, the peasants' livelihood showed conspicuous improvement.

Thus, from the state of half-starvation in 1970, Sichuan has developed to the present point of having surplus grain to supply to the state. It is no wonder that there came to be a current saying in the Sichuan countryside: "If you want food to eat, look for zhao, [in Sichuanese, pronounced the same as Zhao] Ziyang."

As Zhao Ziyang looked up workers at factories to chat with, he came to understand that what they had been most concerned with over the years was the "three zis": erzi [son], fangzi [house], and piaozi [money]. The question of erzi was that a son or the sons of the family happened to have been sent into the mountains and the countryside and could not find work upon his or their return. The question of fangzi was that they had been for long years living in shacks built with loose lumber pieces and bricks without recourse. The question of piaozi was that the appraisal of reward money was not fair. Zhao Ziyang then proposed that since many old factories had some abandoned or dilapidated workshops and useless old machines, they could very well run some collective enterprises to absorb the workers' children. Thus, children who were sent into the mountains and the countryside could all return. For the sake of their own children, old workers thereby took it upon themselves to repair the workshops and the machines; the supply and sales offices also started as a matter of convenience in their work to find raw materials and sell products for such a collective enterprise. As the workers' children were now put to work, they themselves also concentrated on learning some techniques in order to strive in the interest of the collective. On the fangzi question, apart from suggesting that enterprises should have some funds under their own control so that they could build dormitories by themselves, Zhao Ziyang also stopped large-type capital construction projects that had dragged on for a long time without completion and built houses for the common people first. In the year 1979 alone, 21,000 housing units were built in Sichuan; this was a construction tide of the greatest magnitude since 1957. As for the piaozi question, Zhao Ziyang was of the opinion that there should not be any "appraisal of reward money" but "calculation of reward money," so that quantity of production, quality of products, frequency of work, etc., could all be calculated, with each item being very concrete, and each worker could also calculate them by himself without waiting until the end of the month. And even how much the state could increase

its profits, how much an enterprise could retain funds for itself, and how much an individual might receive his reward money could all also be calculated. This would be called "calculation of reward money." "Calculation of reward money" was thus fairer than "appraisal of reward money," and it also would not arouse so many comments.

In order to have interests of the direct producers--enterprises and their cadres, workers--and interests of the state combined together, beginning in 1978 and with the support of Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang carried out an experiment in Sichuan on the expansion of enterprise autonomy. When the experiment was first started, only six experimental units were selected. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was held at the end of 1978, these experimental units were expanded from 6 to 100; by 1980, they have been expanded to 300.

In the so-called expansion of enterprise autonomy, principal reform has been reflected in the following aspects:

1. In the past, what an enterprise was to produce, how much to produce, and how to produce constituted a task to be entirely assigned by the state from above, and the enterprise involved had no room for flexible operation whatsoever. Now, an experimental unit may arrange the production of part of its products on the basis of its own surplus productive capability or capability that can be tapped beyond the state plan. So long as such products can meet the needs of society, they can help increase the unit's revenue too.
2. The equipment, raw materials and fuels and power required by an enterprise in the past were uniformly supplied by the state; products of the enterprise were also uniformly purchased and sold by the state. What the state was to supply, how much to supply and at what price, and the quantity and price according to which the state was to purchase the products of the enterprise were all rigidly fixed, and no room was left for flexible operation. Now, an experimental unit may itself buy raw materials from various places and also sell part of its products on its own. Thus, profits of the experimental enterprise have greatly increased. For example, profits of the Zhongnan Rubber Plant in Changqing doubled those of the state plan last year.
3. Originally, revenues of an enterprise were all turned over to the state; not only expenses for reproduction were allocated by the state uniformly, but wages and reward money were also subject to uniform state control. Among an enterprise's revenues today, except those parts used on expenditures such as wages and welfare, pure profits may be proportionately distributed between the state and the enterprise, and this is called "proportionate sharing of profits." Thus, an enterprise is enabled to have some funds under its own control, which may be used on the development of production, improving welfare facilities for the staff and workers, and enhancing the reward money. Chongqing's knitted goods plant No. 2 bought 20 stocking-knitting machines in February last year with the 60,000 yuan it retained as enterprise funds; after these machines were put into production, the enterprise earned 130,000 yuan of profits in the first half of the year. Later on, 60 more stocking-knitting machines were purchased, and by the end of the year total profits earned amounted to 630,000 yuan. At the same time, 15,000 yuan were also taken from the enterprise funds to build 1,500 square meters of housing.

Production equipment which the plant had for 5 years continued to report and apply for in the past was solved in a single year by reliance on its own capability. Dormitories longed for in the past decades by the staff and workers could now also be counted on.

In order to earn as much profits as possible, the enterprise is bound to do its best to lower its cost and reduce its waste. In order to have its products sold in the market, such products must also be produced with a good quality and sold at a reasonable price. In October last year, an electronic products ordering conference was held in the Wenjiang district in Sichuan, which was described as a miniature "Guangzhou Trade Fair." At this marketing conference, various enterprises competed with their products to let users buy them selectively. Such a very common phenomenon of competition in a capitalist society was still rare in socialist China. Not a few enterprise units discovered that their products were of an inferior quality but priced too high, so that nobody cared to buy them; they were thus forced to hurry back to their plants to study how to raise the quality of their products and to lower their cost. Not until then did responsible persons of these plants realize that uniform purchase of products by the state in the past really constituted an obstacle to the improvement of their productive capabilities.

The outlook of the units selected for experiment has also greatly changed. From the director of a plant to leaders at all levels now all calculate their accounts: They calculate the quantity of production, the quality of their products, their cost, and profits for the state and for the enterprise, and they also calculate their individual reward money. In the past, all these enterprises "ate from a common pot"; accounts of the whole country were calculated only by the Ministry of Finance.

After about a year's experiment on such restructuring of the economic system, Zhao Ziyang brought forward his view about the socialist system at a conference in Sichuan in November last year. According to him, "we had many muddle-headed concepts in the past as to what is socialism, we had too many conventions to follow, and we added many things not intrinsic in socialism in the first place, and yet we regarded them all as principles sacred and inviolable, lying prostrate before them and unable to emancipate our thinking." He pointed out: of socialism, both Marx and Engels proposed only two principles, "public ownership of the means of production" and "to each according to his work." They did not, nor could, formulate concrete schemes of implementation in advance. He maintained that socialism must insist on the abovementioned two principles. But public ownership is only the mainstay of the national economy, and not its entirety. "Under the premise of adhering to these two principles, whatever structure, system, policy or measure that can best promote the development of our productive power, that can give full scope to the superiority of the socialist system, should be adopted; we must not bind ourselves as silkworms do within cocoons. On this questions, we truly need a great emancipation of our thinking" (RENMIN RIBAO, 10 November 1979). In January and March this year, Zhao Ziyang also published two articles to discuss the new situations and new problems which had emerged in the course of the economic readjustment and restructuring. Such situations and problems have been generally reflected in two aspects. First, the most important is the contradiction between enterprises and places wherein preliminary reforms have already been in progress and the overall economic system and prevailing codes and conventions which are not yet subject to reform. Second, besides this, there are also certain secondary

consequences, such as the improper approaches pursued after the expansion of enterprise autonomy and achievement of economic revitalization, which appeared in the form of working on devious projects, speculation and double-dealing, striving for sudden profits, undermining undertakings of the state, passing on liabilities to others, etc. In response to the above new problems, Zhao Ziyang brought forward his preliminary program of solutions. He was also of the opinion that reforms must be pursued step by step; if the overall economic system was basically untouched, the realm of reform initiated by the expansion of enterprise autonomy could not be very extensive either.

In July this year, the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference affirmed the path of expansion of enterprise autonomy followed by Sichuan.

When Zhao Ziyang received the World Bank delegation on 16 July, he indicated that the approach of expanding enterprise autonomy had already proved that it was able to promote production; therefore, the Chinese Communist Party was now determined to carry out the reform. He also suggested that the emphasis of such reform was to be placed on enabling the enterprises of direct producers to achieve relative independence, so that each enterprise unit would have its own interest, power and responsibility. Another aspect was to make full use of economic leverages to give scope to the market's role of adjustment and therefore influence the economy in a desirable way.

Concluding Words

The principal characteristic of the economic reforms conducted by Zhao Ziyang in Sichuan was to put the interests of direct producers--factories, enterprises, production teams, and down to the common peasants and workers--in a central position, and, under the condition of the economy still subscribing in the main (but not entirely) to public ownership and collective ownership, take advantage of the market's role of adjustment so as to stimulate competition by the direct producers. Some regard free competition as a characteristic of the capitalist economy. Zhao Ziyang emphasized that competition must be injected into the socialist economic system.

Zhao Ziyang's experiment in Sichuan achieved good results. In the past year, all travelers to China from abroad were presented with the recommendation to visit Dazhai in the past. This situation reflected the fact that the economic reforms being carried out in Sichuan had the support of certain principal leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, and the results they had achieved were also genuine and not like those of Dazhai, which turned out to be but a soap bubble.

Zhao Ziyang's administrative achievements in Sichuan made it possible for him to jump three grades in 2 or 3 short years from a candidate member of the Political Bureau to premier of the State Council, thus virtually wielding the greatest power.

Looking at the arrangements made by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the propaganda in Chinese Communist newspapers in the past half year, it appears that from now on the Chinese Communists are likely to adopt some appropriate way of separating the party from the government in general. On the side of the party, the party chairman and vice chairmen will

basically discuss certain cardinal principles and orientations; the Central Secretariat will hold real power in politics and carry out "ideological leadership." On the side of the government, the chairman and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, it is believed, will remain nominal, rubber-stamping administrative leaders, and the State Council will hold real power in administration, the economy, and diplomacy. Party chairman and vice chairmen correspond to government chairman and vice chairmen, and party general secretary and Secretariat correspond to government premier and vice premiers. Real power basically falls on the Secretariat and the State Council. And the State Council will continue to play a controlling role in the various economic departments. What differs from the past is that in its economic work the State Council, it is believed, will suffer less interference from the party.

Along with Zhao Ziyang's promotion, the reform he carried out in Sichuan on the expansion of autonomy is likely to gradually spread to the whole country. Hua Guofeng indicated on 13 August: "The reforms already being carried out at present are only preliminary; we must continue to study, continue to sum up our experience, and carry forward such reforms. We have 400,000 public enterprises; if the reforms are well executed, their potential is going to be very great" (NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY despatch, 13 August).

If reforms of this kind are really carried forward, not a few confusions are bound to rise. From situations that can be observed from overseas, it appears that in many localities and many departments the so-called "free competition" has often turned into "internecine duel." Not a few such examples have already presented themselves. But reforms of this kind will surely also bring about profound changes in the society on the China mainland. Calling this "capitalist restoration" may be unfair, but it has at least adopted a great many capitalist methods.

A designation appropriate and acceptable to the Chinese Communist leaders should perhaps be "socialism of the free-competition style."

If adhered to and if its "internecine duel" factors can be gradually eliminated, the practice of "socialism of the free-competition style" may possibly turn a new leaf in the history of the international communist movement. But in the long and difficult course of its implementation, we can believe that a great many theoretical questions will still be waiting for experts in social science to study and solve them.

Let us wait and see.

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PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING CALLS FOR LEARNING FROM YOUNG COOK CHEN AIWU

HK241034 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80

[Text] According to BEIJING RIBAO, the Beijing Municipal CYL Committee yesterday passed a decision which called on CYL members and youths throughout the municipality to learn from Comrade Chen Aiwu and to play active roles in upholding party discipline and promoting party style.

The decision said: ZHONG-GUO-QING-NIAN-BAO [CHINA YOUTH NEWS] has published a newsletter about Chen Aiwu, who dared to challenge privileges and who was bold in exposing commerce minister Wang Lei's mistake in seeking personal privileges. His action has evoked strong repercussions among CYL members and youths throughout the municipality. To commend Chen Aiwu's revolutionary spirit in being brave in struggling against unhealthy tendencies, the municipal CYL committee calls on CYL members and youths throughout the municipality to learn from Chen Aiwu: 1) to learn from his upholding of the proletarian party style, from the high degree of his sense of political responsibility toward the party and people and from his spirit of being a master of the society; 2) to learn from his upholding of principle, from his style of giving no thought to personal gain or loss in the face of cardinal questions of right and wrong, from his courage and resourcefulness in showing no fear of retaliatory blows and from his style of being bold in struggling against unhealthy tendencies and challenging privileges; 3) to learn from his fine qualities, namely, setting high and strict demands on himself, continuously making progress without slackening and constantly making new contributions to the four modernizations.

The municipal CYL committee called on CYL organizations at all levels to conscientiously organize the masses of CYL members and youths to learn from Chen Aiwu's advanced deeds, to take a clear-cut stand on energetically supporting those CYL members and youths who are brave in struggling against unhealthy tendencies and bureaucracy, to give publicity to the advanced deeds of such CYL members and youths, to safeguard their democratic rights and to give full play to their active roles in upholding party discipline and promoting party style.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RESTAURANTS INSTRUCTED TO BILL OFFICIALS

OW241228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 24 (XINHUA)--Beijing restaurant authorities have instructed city restaurants to make sure that all customers--including high officials--pay their way. The decision comes in the wake of a revelation that China's minister of commerce was paying only token sums for extravagant meals in one of Beijing's fanciest restaurants.

The Beijing No 1 Service Bureau, which manages the city's large hotels and restaurants, has declared that "all those who come to a restaurant, irrespective of their positions, are ordinary customers. Prices should be the same for everyone," the bureau says, "Whoever permits cheating at the state's expense for private dinners should cover the balance out of their own purse."

A bureau spokesman said that the practice of allowing high officials to eat costly meals but pay little originated during the 1960's. When government leaders dined in high-grade restaurants, their bills were kept artificially low--in some cases expensive dishes priced the same as snack-bar food. The 16 hotels and restaurants under the bureau have now worked out regulations eliminating this practice.

The case of Commerce Minister Wang Lei became public a week ago, when the newspaper CHINA YOUTH carried an article praising a model worker who exposed the problem. The worker, a cook at the Fengzeyuan restaurant, had written to the Discipline Inspection Commission under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, reporting that Wang Lei had paid only a fraction of the cost of meals he had had at the Fengzeyuan. The Discipline Inspection Commission subsequently issued a circular criticizing officials who take advantage of their position in this way.

The Service Bureau spokesman said Minister Wang Lei had admitted his mistakes and paid the balance he owed to the restaurant from dining there over the last two years. The minister also wrote to the worker who complained about him, Chen Aiwu, expressing gratitude for the exposure of his wrong-doing.

CSO: /020

PARTY AND STATE

BUREAUCRACY BLAMED FOR DELAYING KEROSENE SHIPMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 80 p 1

[News Report: "Wang Ce [3769 4595] and Li Damin [2621 6671 3046] Receive Commendation for Struggling Against Bureaucracy"]

[Text] On 15 July, Comrade Wang Ce and Li Damin of the credit department of the Fushun branch of the People's Bank of China wrote a letter to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, accusing some cadres of practicing bureaucracy and evading responsibility, thus delaying the shipment of aviation kerosene for military use from the oil refineries in Fushun and causing a loss of nearly 1 million yuan to the state. Since receiving this letter, the commission has issued a circular on this matter. Leading members and comrades Wang Ce and Li Damin of the Fushun branch of the People's Bank of China have been commended by the commission for showing concern for the interests of the state, and for displaying a daring spirit against bureaucracy. The commission has also ordered the units mentioned by the letter to investigate the case and to punish those who are found guilty of serious mistakes. In Fushun, there are three oil refineries, which produce aviation kerosene for military use. Each day when such aviation kerosene is ready for shipment out of the refineries, a paper indicating the number of railway carriers must be filled out and signed by railway representatives stationed there. On 1 July 1980, the Shenyang Railway Bureau unilaterally turned this job over to the military representatives stationed in the refineries after withdrawing its own representatives from there in accordance with an agreement it reached with the Fushun Mining Bureau (without the knowledge of the military authorities). But after the agreement was put into effect, the military representatives refused to be bound by it, thus touching off a debate over who should sign the aforementioned paper. This debate eventually caused a delay in the shipment of nearly 20,000 tons of aviation kerosene and a great financial loss to the state.

The shipment of aviation kerosene was suspended for 10 days. During this period, the three refineries in Fushun suffered a loss of 9.4 million yuan in sales while the state lost 4 million yuan in excise taxes; two of the three refineries were forced to reduce the output of kerosene, sustaining an economic loss of 560,000 yuan; the Daguan dun railway station lost 410,000 yuan in terms of income caused by the traffic jam and the reduction in the shipment of coal.

Furthermore, the stoppage in petroleum production disrupted the schedule for supplying aviation kerosene to the PLA units; banks were forced to grant an additional 3 million yuan in loans to factories affected by the inadequate supply of kerosene. On 8

July, the problem remained unsolved when the railway bureau rejected the Fushen Municipal Party Committee's resolution calling on the former's representatives to sign the aforementioned paper so that kerosene production could be resumed without further delay.

On 9 July, the Liaoning Provincial Economic Committee advised the Fushun Municipal Economic Committee to persuade the oil refineries to sign the paper. The problem remained unsettled because the Fushun Municipal Economic Committee refused to act according to the provincial economic committee's instruction. In their letter to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, Comrades Wang Ce and Li Damin said: "In the face of this situation, we had no alternative but to call this case to the attention of all units concerned. We first reported this to the Shenyang Railway Bureau and the leading organ of the logistics department of the Shenyang PLA units, advising them of the serious nature of this problem in hopes of getting their help in solving it. But they all decided to pass the buck to the higher authorities, indicating that it was beyond their power to handle. Finally, we had no choice but to pack for an urgent trip to Beijing, where we first reported this case to the head office of the People's Bank of China. With its support, we briefed the State Economic Commission and the Ministry of Railways on the problem. Unfortunately, wherever we went, we were told that this matter was too trifling to be worthy of their attention. Our suggestions were also ignored and rejected."

Finally, Wang Ce and Li Damin reported this case to the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, which took action immediately after listening to this report. At present, the problem has been initially solved and the transportation has been resumed.

In addition, the discipline inspection organs and other departments concerned have conducted an investigation into the case, preparing to take necessary disciplinary actions against those directly responsible for this incident.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

XING COUNTY, SHANXI, PROMOTES YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 80 p 1

[Article based on a report in SHANXI RIBAO: "Xing County Boldly Breaks With Convention and Promotes Young and Middle-Aged Cadres to Leadership Positions"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Xing County Party Committee in Shanxi Province has broken convention by boldly promoting 216 young and middle-aged cadres whose education and specialized knowledge were above the high school level to positions of leadership in communes, county-controlled departments, committees, bureaus, and units in industrial enterprises. Included in this number were 35 graduates of technical institutes and 34 graduates of vocational middle schools. This young group of cadres who have taken up leadership posts has caused leading groups at all levels to be imbued with vitality, has strengthened party leadership, and has promoted industrial and agricultural production. For the past 3 consecutive years, agricultural production has increased progressively 35 percent per year; in industry, the amount of profits turned over to the state every year has come to 1 million yuan a year.

In choosing young and middle-aged cadres, the Xing County Party Committee encountered and solved the following problems:

1. Are outstanding young and middle-aged cadres available? In the beginning, county party committee members always had their eyes on the small group from the party's political departments. They made selections, but they always felt that there really were no outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to choose from. Afterward, the party committee received inspiration from the changes brought about in Luoyukou Commune. In the 1960's, after Niu Wenhua [3662 2429 5478], a graduate of an agricultural school, took up the position of secretary of the party committee in the commune, he used the professional knowledge he had learned to direct production according to local conditions. This enabled the commune to come from being "The Foot-Dragging Commune" to being "The Up-and-Coming Commune," and in 1979 it became an advanced agricultural unit of the province. The success of Luoyukou Commune helped to widen the field of vision of the county party committee's "squad."

2. Are university students able to assume command? Last year, when the county party committee was discussing the selection of a person to become director of the industry and communications political department, they decided to appoint a

college student, Lui Zhengbin [0491 2973 2430], as secretary of the general party branch at the chemical fertilizer factory. Some people felt that Liu lacked all-around leadership experience, and that he was qualified to be appointed a deputy secretary but not to assume command. In 1977, the county party committee appointed Liu secretary of the general party branch and appointed a middle vocational school graduate, Li Zaochen [2621 2483 2525], deputy secretary of the general party branch and concurrently factory director. Of the eight general party branch committee members, six were skilled cadres. Because they knew their jobs and were able managers, the situation of the enterprises was quickly changed, going from a yearly deficit of 200,000 yuan to an average profit of 200,000 yuan.

3. How should an individual's class origin and political history be treated? The Xing County Party Committee has clearly proposed that in treating these cadres, the following be accomplished: Do not allow family background to influence the utilization of people, but more importantly look at the individual's political behavior; with regard to a person's political history, just be clear about it and don't get entangled. Most important, look at the individual's real ability and the size of his contribution.

4. What should be done if young and middle-aged cadres have shortcomings or make errors? A young cadre, Jia Din [6328 2430], used to work in the county party committee's propaganda department as an instructor in theory. In 1976 he became party committee secretary for the Watang Commune. In 3 short years he had united and led the entire masses of cadres in quickly casting off the label of "supply house." Because of some problems that arose in his work, someone took the opportunity to lodge a complaint against him and demanded that he be dismissed. The county party committee, however, felt that his thought was good, that he was educated, and that he had achieved remarkable results. The committee has asked leading party groups at all levels and older cadres to strongly support the work of young and middle-aged cadres and to sincerely lend a helping hand to them.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

VIOLATIONS OF PARTY DISCIPLINE DEALT WITH IN TIANJIN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 80 p 5

[Text] Article by reporters Shi Bo [0670 0590] and Du Duanchang [2629 4949 2490]: "Tianjin Municipal Party Committee Deals Severely With Violators of Party Discipline"]

[Text] Recently, the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee dealt severely with the leading party group of the Tianjin Bureau of Agricultural Machinery for not following party regulations on admitting new party members. Guo Zhishi [6753 1807 1395], a member of the leading party group, bore major responsibility for this incident and so was removed from his post and disciplined. At the same time, it was announced that acceptance of new members to the party by the party group, based on the conditions of the 10th Party Congress, was null and void.

In August 1976, Zuo Pude [1563 2528 1795], a labor and capital cadre in the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery, had his application to join the party approved by the general membership meeting of the party group. This was then submitted to the party group for examination and approval. Owing to the fact that the party group members could not reach a consensus, membership was not approved for the time being. In March 1979, the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery allowed Zuo Pude to become an official party member with standing retroactive to August 1976, the date the membership committee made its initial approval.

This violation of party discipline and regulations caused responsible cadres from the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee of the CCP and concerned departments to pay serious attention to the matter. The Municipal Party Committee decided to send a factfinding group to conduct an investigation. After the investigation, a discussion was held on whether or not to permit Zuo Pude to enter the party, but two of the six members of the party group were absent. At the meeting the deputy leader of the bureau, party group member Guo Zhisi, said: "The admittance of Zuo Pude to the party is a problem of history and carries with it the nature of policy implementation and, in the political line, the bringing of order out of chaos. We can start from actual conditions and be flexible in dealing with the problem." After Guo's speech, the four members attending the meeting unanimously agreed to accept Zuo as an official party member, with party standing starting from the date of the original approval by the membership committee. After the meeting, the two members who had failed to attend the meeting raised the following points: "The 11th Party Congress convened over a year ago, and membership

should be determined in accordance with the constitution of the 11th Party Congress. There should be a probationary period." The main responsible personnel from the party group and responsible personnel from the Political Work Department did not heed their opinions, however, but demanded that they obey the "decision" of the party group. Zhang Pule [1728 2528 2867], head of the municipal agricultural committee organization, also supported the opinion of the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery and Guo Zhishi. In addition, on 21 July 1979, he wrote on Zuo's letter of appeal: "It is permissible for him to become an official party member." People were once again sent to the municipal party committee organization department to make inquiries. The municipal party committee organization department and the municipal agricultural committee party committee both clearly expressed disagreement with those mistaken ways and emphasized that the constitution of the 11th Party Congress must be adhered to. Zhang Pule was unwilling, however, and on 8 August 1979 he asked for instructions from the organization department of the CCP Central Committee. They made an official written reply on 10 August: "The question of this comrade's admittance to the party should be determined in accordance with the constitution of the 11th Party Congress. He should start procedures for joining the party all over again, re-submit an application for party membership, and reseek approval by the general membership meeting of the party group, and then resubmit a request examination and approval from the higher level party committee. The date of membership will be calculated from the day of approval by the higher level party committee, and there will be a probationary period." After receiving this written reply, Zhang Pule failed to pass it on to the party group of the Bureau of Agricultural Machinery, and he also failed to make a report to the agricultural committee. Instead, without authorization, he withheld the reply of the organization department of the Central Committee for 8 months.

According to the masses, the reason for the party group's flagrant violation of party regulations and laws was not accidental. The subjection of some of the members of the party group to the poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was rather serious. Guo Zhishi and Zhang Pule used Zuo Pude's authority as the responsible person for capital and labor in order to arrange job transfers for relatives and to open convenient doors.

The Tianjin Municipal Party Committee made the following decision in early August of this year: Dismissal of Guo Zhishi from his post as a member of the party group; in addition, it was suggested that he be dismissed from his post as deputy bureau director. Zhang Pule, head of the agricultural committee organization, is to await handling of his case. In accordance with the constitution of the 10th Party Congress [as published], ratification of Zuo Pude as a party member was wrong and so has been declared null and void.

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PARTY AND STATE

YE JIANYING CRITICIZED FOR NOT RESIGNING

OW260611 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] An old proverb goes: "[words indistinct], and leadership is rendered ineffectual by recalcitrant subordinates." It implies that influential officials holding high posts and great powers in the government will support only those policies of the state that are of advantage to them and oppose or resist those policies that are not.

It is exactly such an obstacle that hinders the efforts to reduce the average age of cadres. Many leaders who are over 70 and who are holding their jobs without doing a stroke of work refuse to hand over their powers. A question is now frequently raised: why has not Marshal Ye resigned?

It is true that our revered Comrade Ye is one of the founders of our country with great contributions and that he played an important role in the smashing of the "gang of four." However, he is now not only old in age but poor in health. He should take the interests of the party and state into consideration and ask for an honorable retirement. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has tried every possible means to persuade and admonish him in this concern, but to no avail. Sometimes in his talks with others, our revered Comrade Ye himself mentions that it is about time he should retire. However, he [words indistinct] continued to drag on. When he met the speaker of the Malaysian parliament not long ago, Marshal Ye said that he had submitted his (?resignation) to the CCP Central Committee but it was not (?approved).

In fact, Marshal Ye had not formally submitted his resignation to the CCP Central Committee. The CCP Central Committee had received resignations from five founding members of the party and state, including Liu Bocheng. Marshal Ye's resignation was not among the 11 resignations submitted after the convocation of the third session of the Fifth NPC. This is because Comrade Ye Jianying is not at all ready to resign or retire. It is said that he has the intention of carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle against Vice Chairman Deng to the last.

Leaders at the current central authorities are divided into two groups over the issue of Marshal Ye's resignation. Zhao Ziyang, Hu Yaobang and Peng Chong who support Vice Chairman Deng say that our revered Comrade Ye

is holding the position without doing his job and that steeped in remnant feudalistic ideology, he refuses to yield his post to the wise. On the other hand, many leading comrades of the party, state and army of the older generation, including many leaders of military regions and provincial military districts, have (?persistently) supported Marshal Ye in remaining in his original position for various reasons. To put it bluntly, many of these leaders are afraid that once Marshal Ye leaves his post, someone at the central authorities will [words indistinct] go in for conspiracy and launch mass criticism for (?cadres at lower levels).

As is known to all, the fifth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution concerning the retirement of the old cadres and many comrades including Li Xiannian and Nie Rongzhen have officially retired and yielded their posts to the wise. Comrade Ye Jiangying alone has refused to abide by this resolution.

No matter what the personal relationship between Marshal Ye and Vice Chairman Deng is, everyone--no matter who he is--should absolutely submit himself to the party's resolution. Unless a proper solution to this issue is worked out within a short time, it is quite possible that this issue will cause a new split at the 6th plenary session of the CCP Central Committee or at the 12th National CCP Congress.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

INNER-PARTY PEACE CALLED INDISPENSABLE

Xian XIBEI DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 2, 98 pp 3-9

[Article by Li Zhenmin [621 2182 3046]: "'Inner-Party Peace' Is Indispensable --Re-Reading of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's 'On Inner-Party Struggle'"]

[Text] At a time when, after passing through 10 years of turmoil on an unprecedented scale, the party and the nation have once again embarked upon a course of a great [new] order of stability and unity, rereading Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "On Inner-Party Struggle" cannot but cause one to be affected by many emotions, and deeply inspired by the brilliant thought and broad spirit of righteousness of that work.

"On Inner-Party Struggle" was a speech given by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on 2 July 1941 at the CCP Central China Bureau Party School. At the time, the entire party's large-scale rectification movement was about to begin and Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as a great Marxist and proletariat revolutionary, was sorely grieved by the long-continuing "left" and right-leaning opportunistic lines (in particular the serious danger created for the enterprise of the party by Wang Ming's "left-" leaning opportunistic line, and the erroneous policy of "cruel conflict and heartless attacks" that they put into effect in the course of their inner-party struggles, which resulted in the bitter lesson of a large number of excellent party members' tragically being "framed", strongly criticized this excessive inner-party struggle, and incisively elucidated a correct guiding principle for inner-party struggle. This doubtless had important guiding significance for the successful launching of the rectification movement. This speech of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's was telegraphed at the time to Yanan, where it was considered extremely significant by the leaders of the Party Central Committee; in 1943, when the rectification movement was well underway, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a word-by-word correction and revision of the speech, and issued it again. The note appended by the leading bodies of the rectification [movement] in issuing this speech pointed out: Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speech "both theoretically and realistically solved this serious problem of inner-party struggle, and should be read by every party member." (1) Afterwards, this speech was included in "Documents on Rectification," becoming what for a long time has been an important document relating to the construction of our party. What is strange is that a Marxist-Leninist work that has had such a great effect on the construction of the party suddenly became, after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, a "bad example of the revisionist line for party building," and the "doctrine of inner-party peace" was publicized as being one of the "poisonous weeds." Is this [a case of] history playing games with people? No it isn't! It is precisely the cruel manifestation of excessive inner-party struggle carried to an extreme. Because this work incisively and vividly

flogged those "struggle-mongers" who were fond of constant struggle, and with awe-inspiring righteousness elucidated a correct guiding policy for inner-party struggle, the article was strongly worded throughout with the force of justice, and really struck home. For those ambitious persons who had the vain hope of usurping power within the party by means of causing trouble with inner-party struggle, this naturally was a serious obstacle. For this reason, its being attacked and suppressed on a large scale was inevitable under the circumstances. Today, even though Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have long since fallen from power, and Comrade Liu Shaoqi has been exonerated of the wrongs done him, nevertheless, thoroughly eliminating the confusion they created regarding the question of inner-party struggle, and [carrying out] a radical, thoroughgoing reform still have extremely important actual meaning for correctly launching inner-party struggle and strengthening the building of the party. The content of this work of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's is extremely incisive and broad; this [present] work will merely discuss a bit of superficial understanding of questions relating to the "inner-party peace" aspect.

1. We cannot categorically oppose [the concept of] inner-party peace.

In this work, Comrade Liu Shaoqi completely expounded a guiding principle for inner-party struggle, clearly pointing out: in order to develop the enterprise of the party, not only is strict inner-party struggle needed; at the same time, "inner-party peace" based on unanimity of principles is also needed. He criticized the "left-" leaning opportunistic viewpoints of [those who] "deny democracy within the party, deny inner-party peace [based on] unanimity of principles," (2) and consider that "any peace, even inner-party peace [based on] complete unanimity of principles, is intolerable," (3) sternly pointing out that this is "an erroneous tendency within inner-party struggle," and [result from] an incorrect, mechanical understanding of Lenin's principles regarding inner-party struggle.

In the building of the party is it not so that when inner-party struggle is mentioned, only then is it Marxism, while as soon as "inner-party peace" is brought up, then it is revisionism? If this way of looking at things is not the absolute end in absurdity, then it is a perversion of ill will.

Marxism considers that all things contain contradictions within themselves and, like them, the party is also a unity of contradictions. The enterprise of the party has all along been carried out in a movement unifying the contradiction of both struggling and uniting at the same time; there is certain to be a lot of struggle within the party, so that "inner-party peace" is all the more indispensable. What is meant by "inner-party peace," first of all is inner-party unity based on unanimity of [basic] principles. Inner-party unity is the life of the party; if a proletarian political party does not have this inner-party unity [based on] unanimity of principles, exists for a long time in a state of ceaseless, unprincipled quarrel and conflict, with "campaigning" here and engaging in "movements" there so that one is in a constant state of anxiety, then the enterprise of such a party cannot possibly develop, and there is no way for the life of such a party to continue. Therefore, inner-party struggle engaged in to arrive at unanimity on principles, fundamentally is for the sake of the inner-party peace that is based on this unanimity on principles; this is foremost and of the greatest consequence. Secondly, "inner-party peace" also means that on questions that are not questions of principle, the comrades in the party must have the necessary compromise. For the sake of the long-term and fundamental advantage of the proletarian class, Marxism has never been categorically opposed to compromise, recognizing that compromise, not only in

inner-party struggle, but even in struggle against the enemy, so long as it is not compromise that is a betrayal of principles, is not only advisable, but necessary. It is exactly as Lenin pointed out: "'In principle' to oppose compromise, and to be categorically opposed to compromise no matter what the compromise is, this is simply childishness that is hard to take seriously." (4) This remark of Lenin's referred to struggle against the enemy, and struggle against the enemy and inner-party struggle are two completely different things; since in the life-and-death struggle against the enemy it can still be like this [that some compromise is advisable] then in inner-party conflict it is all the more inadvisable to talk only of struggle and not of compromise. Inner-party conflict on questions of principle is necessary, and also unavoidable, but "that is definitely not to say that the party should become a debating club." (5) In order to realize the common objectives, the party members' mutual yielding to each other on questions that are not questions of principle, in the same manner is also necessary. The phrase "Harmony is precious" is definitely applicable here, and one should not simply reject such ideas as being rotten Confucianism. Comrade Mao Zedong also instructed us over and again: towards the enemy one must be fierce, (but) "with one's own people, with the people, with the comrades, officials, with subordinates one must be harmonious, one must unite." (6) Harmony expresses the vast open-mindedness of Communist Party members, and only with harmony can things be done well. Otherwise, one might suppose that the more fierce inner-party struggle is, the better; the more serious problems are presented as being, the better; the more of other people's mistakes collected together, the better; the more terminology used, the better; the bigger the dunce caps people are made to wear, the better; the more cutting the words of criticism, the better; the more severe and brutal the style and manner of criticism and struggle, the better--the louder the tone of voice, the fiercer the facial expression, the further the teeth protrude, the better and absolutely the most revolutionary, and this kind of thing can only result in everything being ruined. One particularly recalls Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who, in order to realize their own political ambition, completely denied "inner-party peace," fanned the flames of "inner-party struggle," and wantonly drummed up the so-called "philosophy of struggle," of "not to struggle is to deviate; not to struggle is to fall from power; not to struggle is to commit revisionism," with the result that the more struggle there was, the more confused everything became, the more struggle there was the more messed up everything was, and our party was nearly destroyed [by it]; the lesson we learned from all this was really painful.

From this one can see that Comrade Liu Shaoqi in protesting against "left-" leaning opportunism had a definite object in mind in bringing up "inner-party peace," which was entirely blameless and, moreover, extremely correct and timely. Not to mention the fact that Comrade Liu Shaoqi, in bringing up the question of "inner-party peace," firstly, definitely did not deny inner-party struggle and moreover fully proved the necessity of inner-party struggle; secondly, he accurately pointed out that "inner-party peace is an inner-party peace [based on] unanimity on principles, and not an unprincipled accommodation of others; thirdly, his basic aim was to preserve the unity of the party. Since this kind of "inner-party peace" was opposed both to the right-leaning opportunism that adopts a compromising attitude towards contradictions within the party, and to the "left-" leaning opportunism that adopts an attitude of absolutism, not only is this no crime, it is no revisionism and, moreover, completely correct Marxism. Is there anything wrong with this kind of "inner-party peace?" This kind of "inner-party peace" is really too precious, too necessary for us! All party members should conscientiously and resolutely seize and guard this "inner-party

peace" and hold it to be something as precious as their own eyes, [for] only by "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, uniting the entire party like one harmonious family, like a single, firm piece of iron or steel" (7) will we overcome the attacks of any enemy, and our enterprise be invincible.

2. Excessive inner-party conflict is the greatest obstacle to inner-party peace.

Accomplishing this kind of "inner-party peace" is no easy task, and our party has paid a great price and made great sacrifices in this regard already. The experience of history tells us: the greatest obstacle to realizing "inner-party peace" is excessive inner-party conflict.

Of the frequent serious obstruction and damage caused our party in the 28 years since the democratic revolution by "left-" and right-leaning opportunism, though the losses caused our party by right-leaning opportunism were certainly great, nevertheless "left-" leaning opportunism has been the most dangerous and of the longest duration. As for the basic characteristics of its organizational line, "left-" leaning opportunism, under the resounding slogan of revolution, engaged in extensive inner-party conflict. This circumstance was particularly prominent during the period of the government of Wang Ming's line; Wang Ming considered himself a supersovereign; placing himself above the party and the people. In order to carry through their own personal program, Wang Ming and his followers "within the party punished all comrades who, because of the infeasibility of Wang Ming's line, started doubting, disagreeing, being dissatisfied, and refusing to support and carry out that line. This was done in disregard to the actual circumstances. As a result, all these comrades were erroneously labeled as belonging to 'right-leaning opportunism,' 'rich peasant line,' 'Lo Ming's line,' and 'double dealing faction,' subjecting them to "cruel struggle" and "heartless attack," to the extent that this "inner-party struggle" was carried out in the same manner as struggling against criminals or enemies." (8) In the central Soviet area, they heartlessly attacked Comrade Mao Zedong, expelled him from his posts as Secretary of CCP Central Bureau governing the Soviet areas, member of the Red Army's General Political Committee, and Secretary of the General Front Committee, forced him to leave the army, and stripped him of his right to speak at the Party Central Committee [meetings]. Cruel oppression was also enacted against other comrades in the central Soviet area who persevered in maintaining a correct line; a so-called struggle was erroneously launched against Deng (Xiaoping), Mao (Zetan), Xie (Weijun), and Gu (Bo) and, under the erroneous policy of eliminating counterrevolutionaries, they caused many excellent party members to suffer unrighted wrongs, and even lose their lives. They also, in the name of "remaking the party" and "remaking the Red Army," with "imperial envoys" flying hither and thither, went to every base area to force into effect their erroneous line; after the failure of the fifth attempt at r sisti ng the 'encirclement and harassment' the only base area left in the country--the Soviet area in northern Shanxi, was also placed in grave danger by them so that of Liu Zhidan and the large number of other party leaders (who had created this base area), nearly all either wound up in prison or were executed. Is not this extremely painful loss precisely to be traced to this unprincipled, excessive inner-party struggle? Only after incisively observing this abnormal phenomenon in the inner life of the party did Comrade Liu Shaoqi place importance on bringing up for the entire party the question of opposing "left-" leaning opportunism.

Placing importance on the question of opposing "left-" leaning opportunism was completely in accord with the historical realities of our party.

"Left-" leaning opportunism's having such a great influence and such a great market in our party, it's being difficult to control, and hard to overcome, are not only because they generally all hang out the outer garb and impressive gold-character signboard of Marxism-Leninism, so that people can be more easily deceived, and unconsciously given the confused notion that "left" is better than right, right-leaning is dangerous, and "left-" leaning is safe; at the same time, it is also inseparable from the particular conditions of the formation of our party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi compares in detail the historical conditions of the formation of our party and of the Russian party, pointing out that at the time the Russian party was formed, owing to the unchecked spread of opportunism at the Second International, Lenin mainly established the party in the course of struggle against right-leaning opportunism in the party organization; the situation before the October Revolution really was like that; at that time a "left-" leaning opportunism in the party organization had not yet developed, or had not yet developed into an organized opportunism; therefore, Lenin's theory for party building is completely filled with struggle against right-leaning opportunism. Many comrades ignore this circumstance and mechanically and erroneously apply Lenin's principles, absolutize them, and unavoidably go to extremes. But the historical conditions of the formation of our party were completely different. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's analysis of the points of difference is:

"Firstly, the formation of China's party was after the October Revolution, after the Russian bolsheviks were already victorious, after there was already a living example; therefore, as soon as it began it was under the direction of the Communist International, and construction was carried out in accordance with Lenin's principles.

"Secondly, China's party from the beginning until now has not been influenced either in its thinking or in its organization by the European Social Democratic Party's Second International.

"Thirdly, China did not have Europe's period of development during capitalist "peace," that permitted the laboring class peaceful verbal conflict, and also did not have Europe's aristocracy of workers.

"Fourth, within China's party there is a comparatively greater proportion of small-property class and peasants, and there is also a certain vagabond element; this is the social basis of "left-" and right opportunism within the Chinese party."

Owing precisely to these special conditions and circumstances, two different influences were then produced: "One was good, enabling us to found from the very beginning a Leninist, Chinese Communist Party that subjectively and strictly follows Lenin's principles; as soon as this party began it was accompanied by strict self-criticism and inner-party struggle; this enabled our party to progress very rapidly, and was a kind of motive power promoting the progress of our party. From another aspect, however, it also frequently caused our comrades to go to another extreme, and commit a different error, frequently causing our inner-party struggle to be taken to excess, so that struggle is too fierce, and goes on without any limit, leading to yet another erroneous tendency, the erroneous tendency of the "left."

This circumstance clearly indicates that "left-" leaning develops and grows particularly well within our party, and as the result of its development of necessity there will be produced a number of "hatchet men" who have no [particular] standpoint in inner-party struggle, unprincipled "strugglers," and "fighters" fond of a struggle.

These people struggle as a profession, "struggle for the sake of struggling," and, moreover, have a tendency "at times when there is no division of principle at all in the party, they will insist on going to 'hunt for' and object for struggle, considering certain comrades to be 'opportunists,' and using them as 'straw men' to shoot at during inner-party struggle," (9) striking out with their unfounded accusations. It is exactly this kind of extremely perverse and violent, wanton struggle, which does not consider the facts, that has harmed our party and made it insecure for a long time; within, ruining inner-party unity; without, spoiling the relationship between the party and the masses. Just think, how can a party which itself is not secure lead the party members and the masses, marching in unison and concentrating their forces to engage in struggle with the enemy outside the party, and build socialism? People who advocate acting this way [engaging in struggle] generally consider that only this way is "most, most revolutionary," is "100 percent bolshevik;" actually, it is exactly as Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi pointed out: "people who advocate acting this way, are certainly not 'bolshevik,' but are almost hopelessly incurable, or else they are opportunists making use of the name 'bolshevik'." (10)

What affords food for thought is that not only in the period [since] the democratic revolution, [but] the situation in the socialist period is also startlingly similar. Looking back over the past 30 years of inner-party struggle, wasn't the most dangerous, the longest lasting still the "left-" leaning line? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that bunch, though clearly they were already as left as left could be, they still risked their lives to drum up the slogan that "right-leaning is the main danger" and, moreover, used every means possible to mobilize public opinion in the vain hope of proving that anti-rightism is a universal rule for the socialist period. This method of taking one's own political ambition as a theoretical basis was really remarkably absurd.

What is worthy of study is, having already had the painful lesson of the "left-" leaning line during the period of the democratic revolution, how is it that this "left-" leaning line of the socialist period has reappeared, and even worse than before? This naturally is a very great question for study that we must conscientiously explore, and we must look for causes from many angles. However, if we look at it from the point of view of the origins of society, a comparatively clear point is that it is due to the deep influence of feudalism. Our country existed as a feudal autocracy for thousands of years, and did not pass through a "peaceful" capitalist development, but evolved all at once from a semi-colonized, semi-feudal society into socialism; the influences of feudal society's family elder system and personal dependency, the circumstances of a small-production economy, as well as the fanaticism and force of habit produced by these, can very easily become a hotbed of autocracy and excessive struggle. On this point, Comrade Hua Guofeng has pointed out: "Our country has a very long history of feudalism, the economy and culture are comparatively backward, and also in the past our correct propaganda and correct practice of democracy were not sufficient and in system were not very perfect either, and under these circumstances autocracy, bureaucratism, thinking that favors special privileges, family-elder ways and anarchism spring up and develop very quickly. It was because of this very circumstance that our country was taken in by plotters like Lin Biao and the 'gang of four'." (11) A review of this important exposition is very enlightening towards an understanding of this question.

In sum, one can see that either for the period since the democratic revolution, and also for the period of the socialist revolution, excessive inner-party conflict has always been the greatest obstacle ruining "inner-party peace," particularly

due to the "left-" leaning line that produces this kind of excessive inner-party conflict, which has very deep social roots, and this cannot but arouse our serious attention. Practice proves that, whenever we come to take the trouble to correct this circumstance, then "inner-party peace" will be assured, and the development of the party's enterprise will flourish; otherwise, it will definitely come to harm. For as long as the party has been in existence, hasn't this twisted path of development we have gone through incisively told us, how tragic the loss brought upon the enterprise of the party by excessive inner-party conflict, and how important "inner-party peace" also is for the development of the party's enterprise?

3. Only by correctly launching inner-party struggle can we guarantee "inner-party peace."

If we want to guarantee "inner-party peace," then it is necessary to launch inner-party struggle correctly. The correct carrying out of inner-party struggle is an important question for solving the internal contradiction of the proletarian class, and is a fundamental guarantee of the prospering and flourishing of the enterprise of our party. How can we correctly launch inner-party struggle, after all? Comrade Liu Shaoqi, on the basis of his long and rich experience in party leadership work and high Marxist-Leninist theoretical level, made an exhaustive exposition and elucidation of this.

Rereading Comrade Liu Shaoqi's exposition, I was very impressed with the importance of the following several points, which must be emphasized over and over again:

First, one must definitely correctly recognize the nature of inner-party struggle.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "Inner-party struggle basically is a kind of division and conflict on ideology and principles." At the same time, it is also "the reflection within the party of class contradictions in society, and the opposition between old and new things." It included struggle carried out against all kinds of enemies within the party and against non-proletarian influences," as well as struggle against "left-" and right-leaning opportunism, etc.. However, he emphasized that "inner-party struggle is mainly ideological; its content is division and opposition in ideology and principles. Within the party, owing to divisions and antagonisms among the comrades on principles, although they can develop into political divisions, in a certain situation, even an unavoidable development into a division in party organization, nevertheless its real nature, its content, basically is still a kind of ideological conflict." This exposition is a totally accurate Marxist-Leninist explanation of inner-party struggle, since it has pointed out the class nature of inner-party struggle, and has also emphasized that it is mainly a kind of ideological conflict; only by correctly understanding inner-party struggle in this way can the correct carrying out of inner-party struggle be assured.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took passages in this exposition of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's out of context, and distorted them as they saw fit. Clearly, Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out that inner-party struggle is "mainly" a kind of ideological conflict, but in their judgements they had a tendency to accuse him of saying that it was "merely" ideological conflict, and moreover because Comrade Liu Shaoqi did not categorize inner-party struggle simply as being class conflict or conflict between [political] lines, he was attacked for obliterating the class nature of inner-party struggle, which was the same as engaging in "revisionism" in party-

party-building, etc.. This kind of trumping up of charges and pinning them on someone, and afterwards endlessly raising them to a higher level of seriousness and, added to this, base methods of attack, aside from revealing their impatient ambition to usurp control of the party, were absolutely without foundation.

It is completely clear that Comrade Liu Shaoqi definitely did not deny the class nature of inner-party conflict; on the contrary, he emphasized that inner-party struggle "is mainly ideological conflict," precisely pointing out the basic characteristic of inner-party struggle. Since inner-party struggle consists of divisions and oppositions among the comrades on ideology and principles, in that case one can only use the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out to solve them, and one absolutely cannot adopt murderous, suppressive methods. For those ambitious persons who had the vain hope of creating turmoil with inner-party struggle, this could not but be a serious threat.

It is correct that inner-party struggle, class struggle and the conflict between political lines are connected, but one absolutely cannot simply write an equal sign to indicate that relationship. First of all, looking at it from the point of view of the relationship between inner-party struggle and class struggle, the main connection between the two lies in the origin of classes; inner-party struggle is only the reflection of class struggle, which is not the same as being class struggle. From the point of view of the origin of knowledge, inner-party struggle is the reflection within the party of subjective and objective contradictions, which is even further from simply being class struggle. Secondly, from the point of view of the relationship between inner-party struggle and the conflict between political lines, the two are both connected and distinct from each other, and in the same manner one cannot simply equate them. Struggle between two political lines is the highest form of inner-party struggle and its [most] important content, but it is definitely not its only form or its entire content. Inner-party conflict is usually for the most part manifested in divisions and oppositions among the party comrades in various aspects of ideology, ways of doing things, work methods, etc., including certain divisions and oppositions on principle, but these do not constitute struggle between political lines. Only when divisions on principle develop to the point where there can be no compromise, when erroneous ideology, erroneous tendencies develop into erroneous political and organizational lines, only then is there struggle between political lines, which is not to say that conflict between political lines exists at all times within the party. Those false theories, endlessly rising to new levels of error, are not only theoretically a great distortion of the nature of inner-party struggle, at the same time they are also the greatest disaster ruining "inner-party peace."

Secondly, we must definitely distinguish strictly, and correctly deal with, questions of principle and questions that are not questions of principle.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi points out: "Inner-party struggle is a conflict of principles." This requires that we definitely must strictly and clearly distinguish the dividing line between questions of principle and non-questions of principle, and hence accurately determine the different attitudes for dealing with them. What are principles? Comrade Liu Shaoqi tells us: "What are called principles are general laws for the development of things." Speaking concretely, questions that have to do with "the aim of our struggle and the methods of struggle to attain this aim," as well as questions of strategy and tactics; all everyday government affairs or purely practical questions that do not have to do with these principles are questions that are not questions of principle.

Communists, "on questions of principle, cannot be vague." We must resolutely oppose all tendencies that are in violation of principles. And questions that are not questions of principle "are not [cases where] one must die rather than compromise" and, moreover, one must be "good at compromise, good at yielding, good at accepting and agreeing with other people's ideas, 'good at going along with others,' and only after this can matters be transacted freely, can problems be solved readily. But one must not simply always want to hold fast to one's own ideas and always want others to give up theirs; always want other people to tolerate one and want others to handle things according to one's own ideas; this way will have the contrary effect of delaying the solution of problems, interfering with the progress of work, increasing inner-party disputes and the tendency towards idle talk, and harm unity among the comrades." Here, since we cannot degrade questions of principle into questions unrelated to principle, we also cannot elevate questions unrelated to principle into questions of principle, and we particularly cannot "carry out an unprincipled conflict under the cover of the great banner of a principled conflict."

In order to safeguard the highest advantage of the proletarian class and the unity of the party, even on questions of principle one must be good at comparing, good at making distinctions, use the rule of "small principles are subordinate to large principles; the part is subordinate to the whole" to decide whether a question is one that one must be resolute on or one where one should "yield temporarily," combining the steadfastness of the principle and the flexibility of the tactics--only in this way will matters not end up with both sides refusing to budge, and be advantageous for the enterprise of the proletariat class. In matters of principle we cannot be careless; this is to say that we definitely must struggle sternly; we cannot be apathetic; we cannot be evasive; but stern struggle is decidedly not cruel struggle, but can only be struggle by reasoning things out; that attitude of using power to suppress others without using reason is absolutely intolerable. It should be like this whether we are talking about questions of principle or questions that are not questions of principle, all must be solved through a process of presenting the facts and reasoning things out, criticism and self-criticism. The formula of "unite--criticize--unite" that Comrade Mao Zedong instructed us is a basic principle for resolving inner-party conflict. We must definitely obey this principle, and use a high level of proletarian party spirit and the motive and aim of "being good at getting along with others" to resolve inner-party contradictions and divisions. It is exactly as Comrade Zhang Wentian incisively points out: "ideological conflict that has this kind of motive and aim must of necessity be honest and upright, because here, aside from the benefit of the party, there is no other personal advantage to be gained." Conversely, that so-called ideological conflict that issues from individualism, factionalism, or some other ulterior motive, and makes use of all kinds of improper methods to accomplish its aim of framing, attacking or overthrowing revolutionary comrades, deviates from the basic principles of the party, and of necessity must contain within itself some degree of plotting. These so-called judgments can only give rise to disputes within the party, create factional division, and create oppositions and rifts." (12)

Thirdly, we definitely must cherish a highly responsible attitude towards the party and towards the revolution.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi points out: "Inner-party struggle is a most serious, most responsible thing; in engaging in it we must have a most serious, most responsible attitude, and absolutely cannot engage in matters carelessly." If we want to reach this point, it is required that we must be completely on the party's side, in

everything start from the basis of the benefit of the party, selflessly, without plotting for private advantage. It is true that "only when one first has a correct standpoint can one correct others' incorrect standpoints; only when one is completely upright, can one correct other people's not being upright; it is a case of 'One must first correct oneself; only then can one correct others'." This requires that we definitely must persevere in the principle of seeking truth from facts; at all times and under all circumstances we must respect objective facts, speak the truth and not falsehood; one is one; two is two; don't exaggerate; don't minimize; don't use one's own subjective wishes and likes and dislikes to decide on right and wrong. Those base methods of disregarding facts, doing whatever one pleases, bragging and sowing lies, and resorting to fraud and trickery, created during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were on the rampage, must be thoroughly eliminated. This, then, requires that we definitely must be daring in persevering in the truth, correct our mistakes, be daring in engaging in struggle against all evil forces, live for the truth, die for the truth; but we cannot "steer our boat according to the wind," or traffic in principles. We must be brave in accepting and correcting our mistakes, and absolutely cannot conceal our faults and wrongs, attribute merit to oneself and push blame onto others. In short, it requires that we definitely must have a high level of party principle, "not to be subdued by force," "not to be corrupted by wealth and honors," increase our cultivation in the theoretical, ideological, moral, work-style and organizational discipline areas, take the overall situation into account, have the cardinal principles in mind, and cause oneself to really become a Communist Party member made of "special materials;" only in this way will the party's style be correct, will people's hearts be in agreement; only then can all kinds of improper tendencies in the party be overcome, and only then can the "inner-party peace" we are talking about--that is, the unity of the party--be guaranteed.

In sum, this work, "On Inner-Party Struggle" incisively summarizes many valuable experiences in inner-party struggle, and is the crystallization of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's heart's blood through many years of party work; it is an extremely precious legacy he has left us, [and though it is] separated from us by a space of 39 years, rereading it today still makes a deep impression on one. We should treasure this legacy very highly and, like that year in Yanan during the rectification period, study it conscientiously.

"Daring to bear morality and justice with an iron shoulder; always to leave a brilliant reflection among men." Comrade Liu Shaoqi struggled vehemently to the end of his life for the enterprise of the party, and not only made an important contribution theoretically, but also in practice established a shining example for us. All his life he was honest, open and upright, hated evil like an enemy, and carried out an untiring struggle to uphold the unity of the party and to be steadfast in the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong ideology. After 1959, the "left-" leaning tendency in the party raised its head, and he immediately called attention to it and resolutely opposed it. In 1962, at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee he, directly aiming at the erroneous tendency existing in party work, severely criticized the erroneous view that "left" is better than right, correctly pointing out: "Right is not better than 'left'; 'left' is also not better than right;" either of these deviations should be opposed, "during the last few years some party organizations on three occasions repeated the error of excessive conflict of the kind that occurred during the period of the 'left-' leaning opportunistic

line," emphasizing that "all party organizations that committed the error must quickly correct it, not allow this kind of excessive conflict to be repeated, and manage affairs in accordance with the methods for normal inner-party struggle that were formulated in our party long ago." (13) Regrettably, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's word was definitely not carried out; on the contrary, it afterwards became the basis for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to fix a charge against him, causing the enterprise of the party again to meet with even more serious harm. Does not this historical tragedy precisely prove, through being a counterexample, the truth of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's theory?

Our party has already passed through a period of nearly 60 years of conflict, and rich experience of inner-party conflict, both positive and negative, enables our party to be more mature than at any other time previously. A series of historically significant important resolutions including "Concerning Certain Standards in the Political Life of the Party," passed the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are certain to produce a great effect on the building of our party. Let us unite more closely around the party's Central Committee, quickly revive the excellent traditions of the party ruined by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," "be in favor of righteousness, and opposed to wickedness," bestir our revolutionary spirit, in order, in the [new] phase of stability and unity, to realize the four modernizations and race on towards a communist tomorrow and the brave struggle ahead!

FOOTNOTES

1. "Documents on Rectification," revised edition of May, 1949.
2. Liu Shaoqi, "On Inner-Party Struggle;" the following quotations, unless otherwise noted, can also be seen in that work.
3. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."
4. Lenin, "The Disease of Infantilism in the 'Left' Wing of the Communist Party Movement," in Selected Works of Lenin, v 4 p 194.
5. Stalin, "A Re-discussion of the Tendency Towards Social Democracy Within Our Party," in "Complete Works of Stalin," v 9, p 12.
6. Mao Zedong, "Speech on the Occasion of Receiving the Study Representatives of the Rear Army Group"; see the Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO for 18 Sep 1944.
7. Sixth enlarged meeting of the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions."
8. Sixth enlarged meeting of the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions."
9. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."
10. Liu Shaoqi, "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members."

11. Hua Guofeng, "Report Given on Two Occasions at the Enlarged Fifth People's Congress."
12. Zhang Wentian, "Inner-Party Struggle Must Be Correctly Carried Out"; see RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 1979.
13. Liu Shaoqi, "Speech Given at the Enlarged Working Meeting of the Central Committee," 27 Jan 1962.

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PARTY AND STATE

EGALITARIANISM, PEASANT WARS IN HISTORY DISCUSSED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, Jan 80 pp 11-20

[Article by Dong Chuping [5516 2806 1627]: "On the Merits and Demerits of Egalitarianism and the Successes and Failures of Peasant Wars"]

[Text] The concept of equality and egalitarianism has been the ideological yeast of the peasants when they were engaged in fermenting a revolution. Without an elementary ideology of equality, there would have been no peasant wars. The egalitarian ideology of the peasants has often been reflected through religious heresies, such as the Taiping Taoist Sect and Five-dou-of-Rice Sect of the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Manichaeism in the Fangle area and Zhong Xiang's [6945 4161] Heretical Taoist Sect of the Song Dynasty, the White Lotus Sect of the Yuan and Qing Dynasty, the God-worshipping Sect of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, etc.

The concepts of equality, egalitarianism, and religious heresies with such concept of equality and egalitarianism as their content have played a tremendous mobilizing and organizational role during the preparatory and outbreak stages of peasant wars. But it [sic] was not the ideological weapon for the power seizure and the eventual establishment of revolutionary regimes after the overthrow of the existing ruling houses that took place. Along with the deepening development of the revolutions, it became more and more of a burden, so that the sooner it was abandoned, the better the situations for those concerned would have been. It is not by accident that in Chinese history there has never been a peasant uprising which was able to win victory with egalitarianism or a religious heresy with egalitarianism as its content as its ideological weapon. Today, everybody praises without limit Wang Xianzhi's [3769 0103 5347] call for "equalization," Huang Cao's [7806 1560] call for "leveling," and especially Li Zicheng's [2621 5261 2052] slogans on "land equalization" and "grain tax exemption"; the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace is especially exalted to the skies. But few care to mention how this kind of egalitarian ideology led these three large-scale revolutionary movements to their eventual failure.

As everybody knows, the failure of Huang Cao and Li Zicheng was inseparable from the fact that they were for long periods of time bogged down in the practice of roving banditry. The root source of the ideology of such roving banditry was no other than egalitarianism. Bankrupt peasants furnished the mass foundation of roving banditry, and it was very easy for such bankrupt peasants to breed an

egalitarian ideology. Only by "swashbuckling across the country," "robbing the rich to aid the poor" and "opening up public granaries to relieve the hungry" everywhere could such egalitarianism be temporarily brought into reality. It was always easy to equalize existing wealth; but existing wealth was limited. After "equalizing" the wealth here today, it was necessary to "equalize" the wealth elsewhere tomorrow. Li Zicheng's subordinate commander Lo Rucai [5012 3067 2088] said: "Swashbuckling across the country alone affords us great pleasure; why do we need to occupy some territory and establish a kingdom?" (Li Wenzhi [2621 2429 3112], "Plebian Uprisings of the Late Ming Dynasty," Zhonghua Book Company, 1948 edition, p 115). Of course, "opening up public granaries to relieve the hungry" and "robbing the rich to aid the poor" carried out in the process of peasant uprisings constituted revolutionary actions, and they were beneficial to, and necessary for, the development of the revolutionary situations. But these actions, after all, did not constitute any long-range plans; if they really wanted to overthrow the existing ruling authorities and establish their own regimes, they would have to set up relatively stable bases, organize productive activities, and establish normal systems of public finance. It was in these regards that egalitarianism proved helpless; on the contrary, it tended to have a sabotaging effect.

Egalitarianism left the uprisings of Huang Cao and Li Zicheng bogged down in the practice of roving banditry for long periods of time; they had no bases, nor regular financial revenues. When the troops of Huang Cao entered Chang'an, they did not even have anything to eat. After Li Zicheng's troops entered Beijing, they still did not have a system of public finance and relied only on torturing officials and rich merchants under the Ming House and exacting their spoils in order to sustain the expenditures of the state; they also especially established an "Office for Provisions Collection and Pacification" to launch a campaign of unprecedented scale to "exact spoils and replenish provisions." "Cabinet officials were required to submit 100,000 [taels of silver?]; officials of ministerial agencies in the capital and the palace guard commander, 70,000; secondary officials of bureaus and regional offices of the civil service ministry, 50,000 and 30,000 respectively; Hanlin scholars, 10,000; military officers, one to several thousand; royal relatives, flexible figures" ("Northern Expeditions [0554 3970] of the Ming Period," Vol 20). The foremost task of local officials dispatched from Beijing to Hebei, Shandong, Henan and other regions was still not to organize production but to "exact spoils and replenish provisions"; hence the area of attack was expanded, and this was unpropitious for establishing any united front against the Qing House.

On the eve of the occupation of Beijing by the uprising forces, in early April 1644, Grand Secretary Fan Wencheng [5400 2429 4453] of the Qing House pointed out to Prince-Regent Duoergun the evolution of the principal contradiction at the time. He said: "As the roving bandits are now running rampant in China Proper, they are like the deer lost to the erstwhile Qin Dynasty pursued by the kingdoms of Zhu and Han: although our state is contesting the throne with the Ming regime, we are in reality fighting only roving bandits" ("East China Records," The Reign of Shunzhi, Section 1). After the uprising troops occupied Beijing, the Qing forces immediately launched a propaganda offensive in the direction of the landlord class of the Han nationality, declaring: "The uprising soldiers are here to avenge the grievances of your ruler and your fathers" ("Biographies in the History

of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 5). Between the two sides of this principal contradiction, the uprising forces and the Qing forces, there stood a huge intermediary force, which was namely the landlord class of the Han nationality; whoever won this intermediary force would probably be victorious. The uprising forces were not necessarily unaware of this truism; they therefore "let the good officials in office still work at their former posts" ("Northern Expeditions of the Ming Period," Vol 23). But, compelled by financial reasons, they could not but launch a vociferous movement to "exact spoils and replenish provisions" and thereby push this intermediary force toward the enemy. The soldiers and civilians of the Manchu nationality numbered not much more than 200,000; yet, after they entered China Proper, they became irresistible. Why? Apart from the corruption of the peasant soldiers after their entry into the capital, the fact that landlords of the Han nationality leaned to the Qing forces in great numbers was an important reason. Li Zicheng's "grain tax exemption" and "levy exemption" helped him a great deal in the beginning, but in the end also undermined his strength; this was reason No. 1. Next, egalitarianism led them to indulge in the practice of roving banditry for a long time, and they thus established no solid base. Once they retreated from Beijing, their whole line collapsed, lacking even a foothold to stand on. This was the ill consequence of taking "swashbuckling across the country" as their "pleasure." To sum up, egalitarianism made Li Zecheng fail to acquire a solid base in the first place, and to establish a regular system of public finance in the second place; these two points were directly related to his subsequent rapid defeat.

In more than 2,000 years of the history of peasant wars, the egalitarianism of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, among others, developed to the highest level. No other egalitarianism than that of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace played a greater, more positive role in respect to the revolution at the preparatory and initial stages of that peasant war. From the first uprising at Jintian, and especially from the breakthrough against encirclement at Yong'an onward, to the establishment of the Heavenly Capital, the speed and vigor of the development of the revolutionary situation were not only beyond the expectation of the Qing Government but also unanticipated by Hong Xiuchuan [3163 4423 0356] and others in the first place. If we ascertain the reason in this regard, we cannot but attribute the meritorious outcome to the propagation of the ideals of the "Heavenly Kingdom" and the strict application of military communism within the ranks of the Army of Peace. But the effect of the ideological system of egalitarianism could not last forever; it could only excite people temporarily, but not sustain them to the very end. Once the revolution entered into the period of its high tide, the sooner it was abandoned, the better. But the egalitarianism of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace proved to be too great; it became a heavy burden. Later on, there was not only no willingness to abandon it, but it even became regarded as precious treasure. This situation was given further development after the Heavenly Capital was established.

After the Heavenly Capital was established in 1853, two urgent tasks were on hand: one was to dispatch the main forces in a northern expedition without stop so as not to give the Qing Government any breathing spell. Leaders of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace did not pay enough attention to this; as a result, partial forces were sent in deep pursuit, but the northern expedition was a failure, and the most advantageous opportunity for a decisive war was lost. The other was to build up the base, establish normal social order, and organize social production. To this,

leaders of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace paid full attention, and they took it very seriously, unlike Huang Cao, Li Zicheng and most other leaders of peasant uprisings; but their approach to solving this task was somehow completely wrong.

After the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace settled down in the Heavenly Capital, it promulgated a "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" as the blueprint for building the "Heavenly Kingdom" amongst men. This "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was not only a law for land reform, but also a general program of social system and social life. Policies and measures in the city of the Heavenly Capital were based on, and in accord with, this "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty." We cannot say that simply because land was not equally distributed the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was therefore not at all carried out. That would be taking up one single point to cover up the whole area. On the basis of the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" concerning the spirit of "No one is given any private property, everything belongs to the Lord Above," the city of the Heavenly Capital thoroughly eliminated private ownership and also eliminated private industrial and commercial activities; all handicrafts workers were concentrated and organized into various camps of workmen and offices of artisans, commercial activities were entirely stopped, and the people's daily means of livelihood were distributed uniformly by the Government. The families were divided up, and men and women lived respectively together in the various camps and hostels. In a word, the internal practices of the imperial treasury system, the supply system, and the system of separate barracks for men and women of the Army of Peace were extended to the whole society. Hong Xiuchuan and others overlooked economic laws and believed blindly in administrative power. What was the result? They were punished by economic laws. The economically prosperous city of Nanjin suddenly became a quiet and cold military barrack; large numbers of handicrafts workers fled; production decreased sharply; and several thousand "machine workers" (predecessors of the proletariat) connived with the Qing army to plot a rebellion. The "Heavenly Kingdom" idealized for the people was opposed by the people themselves. This was the tragedy of egalitarianism (the foregoing being based on "Summary of Events in Nanjin, 1858-1854," "Nanjin Miscellaneous Recordings," "A Compilation on Rebel Conditions," "The Little History of Fenglu," etc.).

Because of the frequency of fighting, areas under occupation changed from time to time; hence the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" was not entirely carried out in the countryside. Today, we have many good-hearted comrades who still regret this very much; but in reality, this was the greatest fortune out of misfortune, for, were it not for this, peasant uprisings would have certainly broken out in the countryside of the "Heavenly Kingdom." To say this is definitely not making a sensational statement to attract attention. After April 1853, the Army of Peace recovered the upper stream region [of the Changjiang River]; the people in the vast area of Anhui "resisted the imperial edict" as they were opposed to the public ownership of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. Hong Xiuchuan sent Shi Dakai [4258 6671 7030] to Anqing to "pacify the people." Shi Dakai's thinking and working style were relatively more realistic and "did not pay much attention to folk religions and heretical theories" (Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768]: "Letter to Wang Jishan [3769 3877 1472]"); after he arrived in Anqing, he "often made changes in His Majesty's official institutions, etiquette, and documents" ("Memorial to the Heavenly King Submitted by Jie Chuangyuan [0679 1643 0337] and Zhu Yidian [2612 5902 7855]," "followed all the old systems regarding the silver currency and grain

transport" ("Mr Tao Lou's [7118 2869] Diary," and "Thinking-of-the-North Feudalings"), and "let the people submit grain tax and pay levies as usual" ("A Cassipation on Rebel Conditions"). As a result, "provisions for military use were abundant, the people enjoyed peace, and praise was sung everywhere" ("Unauthorized History of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace"). Shi Dakai's measures in the upper stream region [of the Changjiang River] have been called "feudal restoration"; but we can say affirmatively that without these measures there would have been no triumph for the western expedition of the Army of Peace. Zeng Guofan [2582 0948 3672] was not afraid of your working on egalitarianism, but he was afraid of your working on feudalism. The military communism in the Heavenly Capital became also partly repealed after 1855 because of the punishment of economic laws and opposition by the masses of the people. If "restoration" was in question, Hong Xichuan also carried it out in the Heavenly Capital. Without such cases of "restoration," the Heavenly Capital would have fallen into the hands of the Qing army much earlier; how could it have lasted for more than 10 years as it did?

When the revolution first got started, egalitarianism played the role of "destruction" as it was used to cope with the old order of feudal rule, and it also enjoyed the people's support. When the revolution entered the period of its high tide, it became more harmful than feudalism as it was applied among the people to solve the problem of social production. The practice of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace proved that the masses of the people would rather suffer fairly normal, relatively reduced feudal exploitation and capitalist exploitation than to accommodate egalitarianism, because egalitarianism violated the demand for development of the productive forces, violated economic laws, and could only bring greater sufferings to the people. This is why in the history of mankind there have been the "sinister" slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, but not the "ideal" egalitarian society.

To judge whether or not a policy is correct does not depend just on how much "idealistic brilliance" its descriptive articles might seem to represent and how entertaining they might sound when they are read today, but must be combined with concrete conditions at the time and the results of practice. If the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" had been promulgated at the time of the initial uprising at Jintian, it would have been a rather revolutionary document. Since it was promulgated after the founding of the Heavenly Capital, after the revolution had entered the period of its high tide, however, it was used not for "destruction" but for "construction": this is point No. 1. Next, the middle stream and lower stream regions of the Changjiang River centered around Nanjing were the most developed regions at the time when commodity economy and capitalism were just beginning to rise in China; the contradiction between these advanced economic factors and egalitarianism was even greater and especially could not possibly tolerate the destruction by egalitarianism. At such a time and in such an environment, the promulgation of the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" should well be called reactionary rather than revolutionary. From the results of practice, it can be seen that the role it played in behalf of the revolutionary cause of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace was negative. Today, we exalt the "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty" to the skies, although we are still somewhat critical toward the God-worshipping Sect. Of course, stubbornly adhering to the God-worshipping Sect was one of the reasons for the debacle of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace. But, the God-worshipping Sect was founded before the start of the revolution; without the

God-worshiping Sect, whence would come the revolution of the Heavenly Kingdom of Pearly? It therefore did play a meritorious role in behalf of the revolution. The "Land System of the Celestial Dynasty," on the other hand, was promulgated after the founding of the Heavenly Capital; how did it play the role that the God-worshiping Sect played in behalf of the revolution? Yet, because our view of the question has deviated from concrete conditions of time and space, we have therefore played this one up and the other down, attaching praise and blame irrelevantly.

The time in which Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan lived was slightly different from that of previous peasant revolutionary leaders; but what they led was, or basically was, old-fashioned peasant wars which did not undertake to overthrow the feudal system.

Although in Li Zicheng's time the capitalist economy had already started to rise, this new born economic force was still rather weak and small; the time was still far, far away for it to overthrow the feudal system. If, like Zhu Yuanzhang [2012 D17 4545], Li Zicheng had been able to establish a relatively liberal feudal dynasty with emphasis on agriculture, handicrafts, and commerce to promote economic development and provide more fertile soil for the further growth of the budding capitalism then, he would have made an outstanding contribution to history. This was something possible for a simple peasant war to achieve, and, insofar as the strength of the then uprising peasant soldiers was concerned, this also should have been achieved. But, because of the error he committed on egalitarianism and also in other aspects, Li Zicheng failed to achieve this task; this cannot but be a highly regrettable thing.

In a word, the highest task of old-fashioned peasant wars was no other than overthrowing a rotten dynasty, establishing an enlightened new dynasty, and sweeping away some obstacles for the development of the productive forces and for social progress. Both Liu Bang [0491 6721] and Zhu Yuanzhang achieved this task, whereas Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan failed to accomplish a task which they could have accomplished. After the 17th century, when the world entered the capitalist era and at the crucial moment of drastic competition between various nations, they failed to make the contribution they should have to the Chinese nation; this cannot but make generations of posterity feel regretful. Yet, today--when the people of the whole country are tasting the profound, bitter feeling of being backward and beaten because of the slowness of their nation's historical development, we somehow choose to exalt Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuchuan to very great heights while they have been responsible to a definite extent for the very fact that the Chinese nation developed too slowly and came to be subject to beating; correspondingly, we somehow choose to vehemently belabor Zhu Yuanzhang, who made an outstanding contribution to the acceleration of the development of China's feudal economy and the provision of relevant soil for capitalism to sprout; this cannot but make one feel awkward, indeed!

Chen Yinke's [1902 2498] "Biography of Zhu Yuanzhang" is a masterpiece with high tolerance. When revised in 1964, it absorbed the viewpoint then in vogue; this caused this masterpiece to be covered with a coat of extreme-Left dust.

At the beginning part of this outstanding biography, the author provided a summary on the life of Zhu Yuanzhang. He first of all listed Zhu Yuanzhang's

10 great "merits." For example, he "unified China, put to an end the situation of war and chaos in the last 20 years of the Yuan Dynasty, and enabled the people to lead a peaceful and stable life"; he "energetically encouraged agricultural production," "let the peasants do their best to open up virgin land and make it their own property"; he "liberated the slaves"; he "energetically measured the acreage of the land under cultivation"; he "strictly punished corrupt officials"; . . . and, the author also pointed out, "these measures" "are all beneficial to the advancement of society" and "should be affirmed." Immediately after this, the author also listed five "defects" on Zhu Yuanzhang's part, and the "foremost" among these was that he "underwent a gradual qualitative change" and "ultimately reneged on the peasant revolution," "becoming the head of the landlord class." "This serious crime is one for which no one can exonerate him whatsoever." But we cannot help asking: if Zhu Yuanzhang had not committed "this serious crime" or did not have this "defect," how could he have achieved those 10 great "merits"? Had not "crime" and "defect" become the causes of his "merits"? Had he been able to follow our political standards today and not committed this "crime," would it not have become impossible for him to achieve those 10 "merits"? And if so, would his measures have become not "beneficial to the advancement of society"?

After Zhu Yuanzhang unified China, he had already completely changed from a leader of peasant revolution into a representative of the landlord class; this was a change of his class status in essence. Insofar as leaders of peasant revolutions in a feudal society were concerned, this transformation was a normal phenomenon in accord with prevailing laws, and could not be viewed the same as a renegade emerging ultimately from the revolutionary ranks; the former can hardly be blamed, whereas the latter should be criticized. Yet we often measure the ancients with today's political standards, attach today's political labels to the heads of the ancients, and criticize Zhu Yuanzhang as if he were a renegade of today as to his "betrayal," "surrender," "metamorphosis," "revolt," etc. Perhaps this can be said to be a case of historical misunderstanding!

If we criticize a certain mistake, we must at the same time point out the correct direction. If we criticize Zhu Yuanzhang for having turned into an emperor through "metamorphosis," we must point out: if not emperor, what would he have turned into? Even standing on the height of today, we still cannot clearly direct him to another outlet, let alone in a situation in which he found himself at that time. In the case of a leader of a peasant uprising then, he would either fail, or succeed and become an emperor; there was no third road for him. Of course, things like Zhu Yuanzhang's mistakes and defects in other aspects, whether he was a good or a bad emperor, may all be subject to analysis and criticism. But the fact of becoming an emperor is not itself to be blamed. On the contrary, the fact that Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan should but did not become emperors really deserves criticism.

Why was it that Zhu Yuanzhang could succeed and become emperor? In a nutshell, he operated according to objective laws, as he worked on feudalism, and not on egalitarianism, after he occupied Nanjing. At that time, this was the only correct road, and all other roads were erroneous.

"After Emperor Taizu [of the Ming Dynasty, i.e., Zhu Yuanzhang] conquered Jiaokang [Nanjing], he told the military officers: 'Let the peasants open up virgin land

and make it their own property.' He gave the civilian officials their fiefs, so that they could engage tenant farmers to cultivate them and pay a tax in kind as their salaries" ("Events in the Early Days After the Founding of the State").

In his proclamation as he initiated operations against Zhang Shicheng [1728 1102 6134] in 1366, it was said: "As long as all of you common people can really stay calmly at your trades without moving away, you will remain my good subjects. Of your old land properties and houses, you will remain the owners and pay grain tax according to the established rate; I will not exact harsh levies from you, so that you can forever keep your communities and your families intact."

He fostered new landlords on the one hand, and protected old ones on the other hand. But he also declared: "In the case of old measures which cause inconvenience to you, I shall remove them for you" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 4). In those tense years of warfare, he actually exerted himself energetically to build irrigation works, appointing General Kang Moucai [1660 5399 2088] as his Irrigation and Land Management Commissioner in charge of farming and water conservancy projects and asking him to cultivate the land under the jurisdiction of his military units so as to achieve self-sufficiency in military provisions without having to collect extra grain taxes from the peasants. He also "imposed taxes through an examination of capacities of production in order to achieve equality" ("Events About Various Warriors in the Early Days After the Founding of the State," Vol 1, quoting Ye Ziqi's [5509 1311 1142] "Collected Writings of Quiet Study"), and thereby made the feudal exploitation inherited by the peasants relatively reasonable. His troops followed strict discipline, which enabled the people to produce in calm. In a word, under the premise of preserving the feudal production relations, he proceeded to do away with certain social ills, energetically organize production, protect the small farm economy, so as to give scope to the potential of such feudal production relations in respect to the development of productive forces.

Among all the leaders of peasant revolution, Zhu Yuanzhang was the one most inclined to make important use of intellectuals. After he conquered Jiqing, he declared: "I shall courteously employ those talented people and educated gentlemen who are willing to follow me and establish their own careers" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 4). After the conquest of every place, in fact, he always proceeded to visit and seek out scholars, applying both soft and hard methods to make sure that they would come; hence he always had crowds of strategists on his staff. With the original background of a herdsman, Zhu Yuanzhang was a novice in operationalizing his feudal rule; but there were plenty of experts among his subordinates. Only with these people behind him did he give up the superstitious, backward White Lotus Sect and adopt the realistic and useful Confucian learning. There are therefore many today who criticize him for "gathering capitulators and accommodating renegades," for his "metamorphosis" and his "betrayal"; this is also measuring the ancients with today's political standards and attaching today's political labels to the heads of the ancients. But at that time, Zhu Yuanzhang could only, and also should only, establish a feudal system; and at that time, only the Confucian scholars had the historical experience and theoretical knowledge on feudal rule: if he had not used them, who else would he have used? If he had not used Confucian learning, what else could he have used? Perhaps even standing on the height of today, all we can do is to

make some high-sounding remarks, to "criticize" and "criticize," and still find ourselves incapable of pointing out another approach to him! Making important use of Confucian scholars and the adoption of Confucian learning were important reasons why Zhu Yuanzhang was able to unify China.

Zhu Yuanzhang's proclamation on his northern expedition is a target many critical articles of today like to select. Just as these many critical articles point out, this proclamation "mentioned no class struggle" but merely grasped national contradictions and indulged in making a distinction between the Chinese and the barbarians; it put forward the fighting program of "driving out the barbarians, restoring China, establishing rules and discipline, and delivering this people," which was fraught with Great Han Nationalism and feudalism. Great Han Nationalism is of course erroneous today; but under the specific conditions then, it was not only understandable but, more importantly, it even constituted a powerful ideological weapon. It would have been strange, indeed, if he had failed to make use of such a self-evident spiritual atom-bomb. This proclamation made the rule of the Yuan House in China Proper almost collapse without a fight, and the role it played was no less important than Xu Da's [1776 6671] 200,000 select soldiers. Later on, Sun Zhongshan's United League learned the experience of success from Zhu Yuanzhang and also put forward the revolutionary program of "driving out the barbarians, restoring China. . . ." The fact that the Revolution of 1911 had a heavy anti-Manchu coloration was its shortcoming but also its asset; the fact that the Qing Government quickly collapsed was not necessarily unrelated to the propagation of this strategy.

Comrade Fan Wenlan [5400 2429 3482], historian of the older generation who was eminently representative of the scholarly style of seeking truth from facts, once wrote:

"When the Army of Peace entered the territory of Hunan, if . . . the anti-Manchu revolutionary theory had been stressed and Heavenly Father, Heavenly Brother and other Christian superstitions of the like had been mentioned less often, the power of its call would have been enhanced innumerable times . . . According to relatively believable hearsay, when the Army of Peace laid siege to Changsha, Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768] went to see Hong Xiuchuan to discuss the strategy and tactics of attack and defense and national construction, and thereby advised him to abandon the Heavenly Father Jesus and honor only Confucianism; Xiuchuan did not listen to him; and Zongtang escaped in the night. Whether or not this was really a fact about Zuo Zongtang, the suggestion of opposition to the Manchus but not to Confucius genuinely represented the thinking of a part of the scholars; these people were unlike the bureaucrats who were both corrupt and inept on the one hand, and capable of deceiving the backward masses of the people on the other hand: they were a force not to be underestimated" ("The Modern History of China," p 121).

Comrade Fan Wenlan was of the opinion that the Army of Peace should later have expressed "opposition to the Manchus but not to Confucius"; this was possibly because he was aware of the precedent of Zhu Yuanzhang who opposed the Yuan House but respected Confucianism. Practice has proven that this was an approach beneficial to the revolution and to the people. Of course, according to the political standards of certain comrades, this represented "metamorphosis" and "revolt." But

under the historical conditions at the time, did this not have a more positive meaning to the people, to society, and to the Chinese nation than clutching the legs of a "revolutionary God"?

History is really too impersonal; measured by today's political standards, those peasant wars whose level of struggle seemed relatively higher and whose banner of anti-feudalism seemed brighter all failed, and those whose revolutionary character seemed not high enough all succeeded. History really did not depend on man's will hundreds of years afterward for its development, but was determined by the conditions of the time and by its own laws.

Zhu Yuanzhang's contribution in history was far greater than that of Liu Futong [0491 4395 6634] and Li Zicheng.

Liu Futong's Red-Turban Army shook the rule of Yuan, but still fell short of thoroughly overthrowing it; if the revolution had been carried forward only up to this point, history would have staged again the tragedies of the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the last years of the Tang Dynasty, when the country was ensnared in a situation of confusing battles between the warlords, and the people suffered profoundly as a result. Luckily, Zhu Yuanzhang adopted a series of correct measures, so that he not only thoroughly overthrew the tyrannical Yuan Dynasty but also established a strong and prosperous Ming Dynasty. The great development of production in the early period of the Ming Dynasty reached an unprecedented peak and provided fertile soil for the rise of capitalism in the middle and late periods. But we are used to praising Liu and depreciating Zhu, taking Liu Futong as the overall representative of peasant revolutions at the end of the Yuan period while viewing Zhu Yuanzhang merely as a clown who stole the fruits of victory. This is extremely unfair. The historical task of peasant revolutions at the end of the Yuan period awaited Zhu Yuanzhang for its ultimate accomplishment. When Comrade Mao Zedong listed leaders of the peasant revolutions in Chinese history, among so many warriors at the end of the Yuan period he only singled out Zhu Yuanzhang; this shows singular insight, and is worthy of our deep reflection. Many of our comrades are used to praising Liu and depreciating Zhu, the alleged reason being that Liu Futong adhered stubbornly to the White Lotus Sect until his very death, whereas Zhu Yuanzhang later changed to Confucianism. This is a salient example of people using ideology and not practice as the criterion for testing truth.

Among all the leaders of peasant revolutions, we often take Li Zichang as the most outstanding representative, but take Zhu Yuanzhang as the typical model of degenerates from the revolutionary ranks.

There are two reasons why Li Zichang gains so many votes today: The first has to do with his "land equalization" and "grain tax exemption" slogans, since the egalitarianism reflected by them made him fail in his lifetime but triumph after his death. The second is his defeat. If Li Zichang had succeeded and, like Zhu Yuanzhang, "unified China," and had been "beneficial to the advancement of society," would he not have been subject to our criticism today like Zhu Yuanzhang?

If Zhu Yuanzhang had insisted on the White Lotus Sect and insisted on egalitarianism as some comrades have demanded, had he "put up a bloody fight against the

feudal system through to the end," then, he naturally would have been defeated and China would have been split and fallen victim to a period of confused fighting. Then, our appraisal of him could be very high, at least as high as that of Li Zichang! In order for him to reach the height of Li Zichang, he should not have established a base but, like Li Zicheng, carried on his fighting like a roving bandit; he should not have paid so much attention to production, so energetically organized production, established his normal system of public finance but, like Li Zicheng, should have entered the capital with pride and complacency, and become numbed by peace; he should not have established a broad united front in opposition to the Yuan House but, like Li Zicheng, should have failed to issue the call for the establishment of a united front to resist the Qing forces in time in the face of the danger of the Manchu-based Qing regime entering China Proper or to adopt relevant positive measures . . . Had he done that, he would have failed just like Li Zicheng, and would have become likewise as outstanding and great as Li Zicheng!

I have no intention of downgrading the position Li Zicheng deserves in history. Among the leaders of peasant revolutions, Li Zicheng was no doubt relatively more outstanding, and the mistakes he made happened to be universal among the leaders of peasant revolutions. I merely wish to use this commonly recognized hero as my yardstick to measure the height of Zhu Yuanzhang and take up the cudgels in his behalf against an injustice. Even more importantly, I wish to take this opportunity to explain: when we appraise the leaders of peasant revolutions, we cannot use the slogan of egalitarianism as our highest standard, thinking that whosoever sang the highest tune of egalitarianism was also automatically the most outstanding; instead, we should base ourselves on their actual contributions to social development, so that whosoever made the greatest contribution would also receive the highest appraisal. When the masses of the people ventured to follow a dangerous path, give up their lives and shed their blood, their goal was to solve the problems in society that needed urgently to be solved at the time, but not to establish some embellished theory or entertaining slogan for posterity to appreciate. Revolution requires the most our seeking truth from facts; in the case of an empty theory, the higher its tune, the greater would be its harm to revolution.

As my article proceeds up to this point, providing answers to three thorny questions can no longer be avoided.

1. After a peasant revolution entered its high tide period, and egalitarianism was abandoned and feudalism was adopted, did not the peasants' political power, then, become converted toward a feudal political power? Was this not restoration and retrogression?

Answer: It was conversion, but not restoration and retrogression.

"Restoration and retrogression" means turning history backward in violation of the laws of social development. For example, when Hong Xiuchuan eliminated workshop handicrafts and strangled the budding of the newborn capitalist economy in the Heavenly Capital, his measures in this regard should at least be said to represent retrogression, even if not restoration. When feudal production relations were still the necessary form for the development of productive forces, when conditions for the overthrow of the feudal system were still not ripe, then, after a peasant revolution shook up and disturbed the old, corrupt feudal order it started to

establish a normal feudal order, protect the feudal, small-farm economy, and correctly give scope to the potential of feudal production relations: This was in accord with the demand for the development of productive forces, following the laws of social development, and carrying history forward; how could it be called "restoration"? As the peasants' revolutionary political power adopted these timely, correct measures, along with the development of the revolutionary situation it naturally also became itself converted toward its opposite--a feudal political power. As we look at it today, this historical dialectics, revolutionary dialectics, may seem too impersonal. But once we take a bird's-eye view of this process from the height of history, we feel that it is very natural, very normal. From egalitarianism to feudalism, from the peasants' political power to feudal political power, these are the two stages through which all successful peasant revolutions are bound to go. /The transition from the former stage to the latter stage was neither retrogression, nor detour, but forward movement;/ [in italics] such a transition /was not a bad thing, but a good thing;/ [in italics] in the case of such a transition, the speedier, the better. However, there were two premises involved here: that is, the peasants' political power during this transition should protect the small farm economy and correctly give scope to the potential of feudal production relations so as to promote the development of productive forces. /Zhu Yuanzhang's secret of success was no other than effecting this transition early, effecting it well. The key was effecting it well;/ [in italics] that is, within the realm of the feudal system, adjusting well the inter-relationship between productive forces and production relations, and between the economic base and the upper structure. When Zhu Yuanzhang made the transition has been a question of contention in the academic circles. Certain good-hearted comrades have tried their best to let him serve a few more years as the leader of the peasants and therefore have pushed the time limit of the transition toward as late a date as possible. But this is unnecessary. Because there was no way to resist the effect of objective laws, Li Zicheng's Dashun political power and Hong Xiuquan's Heavenly Kingdom of Peace were later both converted toward a feudal political power. But because the burden of egalitarianism was too heavy for them, they were therefore converted only very slowly, and converted not very well. Otherwise, they could have triumphed.

2. When the peasants' political power went through a transition toward a feudal political power, abandoned egalitarianism, and adopted feudalism, did this not violate the peasants' interests and face their opposition?

The answer is negative.

The people's interests and demands do not transcend over time and space; they are subject to the limitation of historical conditions. At the level of productive forces at that time, the people would desire equality but would not unconditionally reject all exploitation. "The officialdom forced the people to revolt," "people were forced to escape to Liangshan"; in traditional sayings of this sort the word "forced" indicates that the peasants would only become adventuristic when feudal exploitation exceeded the capacity of the small-farm economy to shoulder its burden and then eventually take up revolution. For 2,000 years, feudal exploitation existed all the time, but there were peasant uprisings sometimes and there would be none at other times. Support or opposition can only be relative. The practice of the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace already proved: the people would accept

the exploitation of feudalism rather than the "idealistic brilliance" of egalitarianism. Egalitarianism merely reflected the desire of the toiling people to pursue equality, but it could not really represent their interest. Although feudalism was a system of exploitation and did not represent the peasants' interest, it was nonetheless better than the fancy of small producers. Even a most coarse piece of steamed dough is more useful than the most beautiful painted cake. When Zhu Yuanzhang established a normal feudal order in his base area and abandoned egalitarianism, this was, relatively speaking, in accord with the peasants' interest at the time. He not only was upheld by landlords but also received the support of peasants; otherwise, he could not have won victory. It is hard to imagine that, in that high tide period of the great revolution, in those days of unsettling upheavals when "princes resigned to sustained humiliation, slaves all strove to rise" ("Collected Works of Bei Qingjiang [6296 3237 3068]," 8th poem: "Thoughts at Huangwan Expressed in 22 Rhymes Sent to Qian Sifu [6929 1835 1788]"), if Zhu Yuanzhang's policies were upheld only by those of the landlord class who "resigned to sustained humiliation" but encountered the opposition of the just then proud and elated peasantry, he could still maintain his solid base and ultimately pacify all the other contenders to unify China. If we view this matter that way, we would be underestimating the peasants' strength too much and also overestimating the landlords' role too much.

3. Since egalitarianism seems so harmful and played such a destructive role in respect to peasant wars, and our revolutionary preceptor also regularly criticized the reactionary character of egalitarianism, then why it is still able to enjoy such great luck in the circles of historiography in our country and to be exalted as the highest standard for appraising peasant wars?

This is a question worthy of our profound reflection. I think there are probably four causes.

One is that a Left trend of thought may possibly be playing a trick. For a period, especially during the time when the four pests held sway, we tended to have a radical attitude toward both realities and history at variance with the actual situation. In thinking, we seemed to try to become as far to the Left as possible and in our expressions we seemed to try to make them as lofty as possible irrespective of objective conditions. Egalitarianism is an extreme-Left fever, so it suited our taste.

The second is that we have become used to use a priori ideas as the yardstick for distinguishing right from wrong, but not practice as the criterion for testing truth. When appraising peasant wars, therefore, we paid attention to slogans, theories, but overlooked the results of their practice.

The third is the lack of political democracy and academic freedom. Marx said in "Louis Bonaparte" - 5th of the Cloudy Month that the proletariat must "constantly criticize itself," "relentlessly laugh at the lack of thoroughness, the weaknesses and inappropriateness of its preliminary attempts." Even the proletariat still had weaknesses and needed to "constantly" and "relentlessly" criticize itself, let alone the peasantry in history. For a long period, however, we have indulged in glossing over the deficiencies and playing up the strong points of peasant wars, trying to be cautious and prudent on even the minutest details for fear that the

political labels of "slandering the toiling people" and "slandering revolution" might be attached to us. Our unprincipled exaltation of egalitarianism had really to do also with such political worries.

The fourth is that the force of habit of small production may possibly be playing a trick. This one is principal, fundamental.

Stalin said: "The root source of egalitarianism is the individual peasant's thinking mode, the desire to have an equal share of all wealth, and the psychology of primitive peasant 'communism'" ("Complete Works of Stalin," book 13, p 105). Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Absolute egalitarianism, like ultra-democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 89). Our country has more than 2,000 years of history of a feudal society based on small production which was even up to modern times still not subject to the overall impact of capitalist large-scale production; on the eve of Liberation, China was still a boundless ocean of small production. Till the very present, many departments still have not fundamentally changed the state of their production, which is mainly based on manual labor. Such historical tradition and realistic state have provided a deep soil and a wide market in our country for the egalitarian ideology.

For the past 30-30 years, our socialist construction has constantly suffered the sabotage of egalitarianism. The superiority of our socialist system was given a great discount by egalitarianism; otherwise, we would have most surely enjoyed a far greater rate of growth. The "Communist wind" of 1958 was a salient example. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the petty bourgeois trend of egalitarian thought to instigate an extreme-Left fever and blow a vicious wind of so-called "limiting the legal rights of the bourgeoisie"; they took high wages as the economic criterion to classify people as "capitalist-roaders"; among the workers, they energetically criticized material incentives, and eliminated the reward system; in the countryside, they unrestrainedly aroused the so-called "picking the tip" activities by which peasants who became wealthy through their labor were subject to liquidation and struggle. Egalitarianism flooded and became a havoc in various economic realms, pushing the national economy toward the brink of collapse. The social trend of egalitarian thought was bound to be reflected in the realm of historiography. Our partial enchantment with historical egalitarianism started from no other than 1958, and it reached its peak during the period when the four pests held sway.

Egalitarianism is capable of casting a spell over people; it has an extreme Left vocal cord, a fancy suit of "revolutionary" costume, and diamond-like brilliance--"diamond-like brilliance." Precisely because of this, it is extremely harmful. In history, it led three large-scale peasant wars, those of Huang Cao, Li Zicheng, and the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace, to defeat; after Liberation, it resulted in great destruction to life in our economy, in 1958 and in the period of the Cultural Revolution. If we say that in the process of peasant wars the function of egalitarianism was at the beginning that of a stimulant and, later, that of a poison. We then, in today's socialist construction, it has only the function of a poison. People of our generation have all witnessed how egalitarianism began to spread like a flood, how it became a havoc, and how it turned "men sometimes into gods and turtles." We have a right to appraise its long-range merits and demerits.

The wind of egalitarianism has made many people fall victim to influenza. This author has also once caught the high fever. This article reflects my own recent self-reflection, my return to order from disorder. Because of a lack of sufficient deliberation, it is likely to exhibit instances of commission and/or omission. It is hoped that experts and readers will not be stingy in favoring me with their corrections.

20 August 1979

(Dong Chuping, author of this article, was born in 1934; he is a member of the Zhejiang provincial society of historiography, and a teacher at the Yongqiang Middle School in Wenzhou. His major discourses include "The Most Fundamental Distinction Between Slaves and Serfs as Seen From the Foundation of Production Relations," "Productive Forces Are the Fundamental Motive Power for Social Development," etc.)

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK SHOULD BE TREATED AS SCIENCE

Shanghai GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Yan Qiushi [0917 3061 1395]: "Ideological and Political Work Is a Science"]

[Text] Editor's note: This article first appeared in a periodical of the First Machine Building Industry Ministry's Policy Research Office. We asked the comrade who wrote it to let us publish it here for reference in order to promote discussion about making ideological and political work a science. We have made only a few editorial changes.

When the emphasis of the party's work shifted to the construction of modernization, some comrades thought that political and ideological work was not very important. Some also thought that science and technology and economic management were sciences, but that ideological and political work was something anyone could do. Is this correct? Of course not. Ideological and political work is a science, and what is more, it is an indispensable science for uniting the people of the nation to march toward the four modernizations. When we speak of modernized management, if we think only of the application of mathematics and computers but ignore the use of vigorous ideological and political work to mobilize the initiative of the masses, then we are not being comprehensive.

Our party has always thought highly of ideological and political work, and through decades of practice it has formed fine traditions and accumulated a wealth of experience. However, over the past dozen years these were destroyed and trampled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that confidence in the party's ideological and political work has been greatly lowered. The urgent mission facing us today is, on the one hand, to continue to eliminate the evil influence of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and rapidly restore the fine traditions of the party's ideological and political work; and on the other hand to vigorously strengthen theoretical research work and, with a high degree of science, comprehensively and systematically summarize both positive and negative experiences in political and ideological work, study how to develop ideological and political work under new historical conditions so that in the four modernizations, ideological and political work will be more scientific, be more effective and truly develop its enormous role. Thus, it is extremely important to make ideological and political work a science for research and investigation in order to guide people to understand correctly and control this science and to eliminate the evil influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. Its research object is the people's ideological and political state and its patterns of change, to study how to apply these laws in social practice and bring people's initiative into full play, adjust the relations between people, and develop people's abilities to create a new man for the realization of communism.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science and has an independent research area. It is concerned with the science of people and has a different division of labor from other sciences concerned with people. What it studies are the methods and laws of the ideological and political education of people in actual society.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. Its theoretical foundation is Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism and Marxist political economy, psychology, sociology, and education.

Proletarian ideological and political work is a science. It has its own laws. Some of these laws are already known to us and some still are not. If these laws are applied, ideological and political work will be successful; if they are violated, ideological and political work will fail. What are these laws? Some wait for everyone, especially ideological and political workers and theoretical research workers, to carry out systematic summarization and scientific generalization. Below, we propose views which may or may not be laws of ideological and political work and discuss them.

Originating in matter and returning to matter constitute the starting point and the end point of ideological and political work. Existence determines consciousness. All thought originates in the objective material world and is influenced and restricted by it. Although ideology can produce an important reaction toward reforming society and reforming the world, ultimately it has to be determined by economics and serve the material interests of the class itself. Ideological and political work cannot depart from the people's material interests when analyzing ideological questions, nor can it depart from the people's material interests when resolving ideological questions. Otherwise, it will lose its basis and its aim. Powerful ideological and political work does not seduce people with religious and supernatural forces which are divorced from reality, but is closely allied with real life and with the material interests of the people. It uses the Marxist world view to guide people to know their own material interests correctly and to unite to struggle for their own interests. It reflects the hopes and will of the masses of the people, represents the fundamental interests of that class, and therefore can give rise to enormous material strength. In the years of revolutionary struggle, could the peasants have been mobilized to strike down the landlords and local tyrants, separated from the division of land? Could the masses of the people have been mobilized to strike down the Guomindang reactionaries and liberate China, divorced from the laboring people emancipating themselves and achieving liberation? Similarly, if today we are divorced from raising the material and cultural standard of living of all the people, there is no way we can mobilize the masses of people to engage in the four modernizations. Ideological and political work can play a progressive, revolutionary role, but it can also play a retrogressive and reactionary role; and the determining factors here depend on the material interests of the class that is being supported. The "omnipotent ideology" and "spiritual atomic bomb" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was divorced from socioeconomic conditions and did not deal with the material

interests of the broad masses of the people in a fundamental way. Such political work can only feed on illusions, and the result is a drastic loss of prestige. Our ideological and political work definitely cannot overlook the actual economic and material interests of the masses of people. It must intimately combine the advancing of ideological and political work with the resolving of the material interests of the people, and it must combine political and material incentives.

Seeking truth from facts and using reason to win over people is a fundamental principle of ideological and political work. Ideological and political work should resolve problems of people's ideological awareness. Resolving problems of ideological awareness must adopt the methods of democratic discussion, education by persuasion, rallying together and criticism and self-criticism to conduct mobilization, inspiration, guiding and waiting. Study and observation, heart-to-heart talks and discussion, criticism and condemnation, encouragement and persuasion, investigation and appraisal, comparison and analysis--these are all concrete forms of these methods. Any attempt to use overly impatient practices such as repression, simple administrative orders, and "ideological questions don't last overnight" all violate the laws of development of ideological awareness, and this will not get us anywhere. The political work done when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant was discussing struggle every day, analyzing everything, and making the question of ideological awareness among the people a matter of principle and a two-line struggle without end, with the result that it seriously repressed and ruined the initiative of the broad cadres and masses. How could they talk of resolving any question of awareness? The persuasive force of ideological and political work lies in seeking truth from facts. No matter what the question, it can be resolved by uniting the major principles of revolution with the question of the ideological situation of the employees and discussing revolutionary principles in the light of specific conditions. It is impossible to be effective by looking to higher levels for instruction and going by the book, rather than conscientiously studying theory and engaging in hard factual investigation.

Teaching by words and actions and showing by example are important methods of ideological and political work. Ideological and political work--i.e., making people understand principles and, even more, getting them to conduct themselves in accordance with these principles; the unity of theory and practice--is the inherent nature of proletarian ideological and political work. Divorced from this point, ideological and political work loses all of its significance and thus also loses its vitality.

The strength of examples is inexhaustible, because through certain models people can definitely and formally that the goal advocated by the educator is real, reasonable and beneficial, and they will then actively struggle for it. Thus the example of the party leadership cadres at all levels and of the ideological and political work cadres, who are educators in practicing what they preach, is of great importance. One cannot judge the level of ideological and political work by what you say, but only by what you do. Being as good as your word and letting what you preach constitute the most powerful ideological and political work; the hypocritical workstyle of deeds not matching words (talking about revolution but living up to it in work) can lead to a loss of prestige for ideological and political work. Now the greatest obstacle keeping ideological and political work from developing is an incorrect party style. Therefore, rectifying the party's workstyle is the key to strengthening ideological and political work and raising the level of this work.

Calculate motives, guide behavior, and make ideological and political work have foresight and initiative. People's behavior is controlled by ideological motives, and ideological motives come from need. People's needs are multifaceted, such as the need to survive, the need for security, the need for love, the need for respect, the need to achieve, the need for faith, etc. These are products of actual socioeconomic conditions and have their own laws of change. Thus, motives can be predicted. Study the interrelations of change between people's needs, motives and behavior and their laws of change, and then it is possible to control ideological conditions more thoroughly, promptly discover ideological trends, and take the initiative to start work. The more this work is done promptly and with initiative, the better it is for resolving questions of ideological awareness and the more effectively evil tendencies can be prevented; even after some questions are revealed, it will be possible to guide in a purposeful way and to reduce negative influences to the smallest degree.

This key will open the lock and make ideological and political work have direction. Because each person is at a different point in socioeconomic activity and political activity, because family economic conditions are different, and because social experience, degree of culture, and individual characteristics and interests are different, the content and characteristics of ideological activity are very varied and complex. If ideological and political work cannot be different because people are different, and cannot adopt different ways and methods according to different characteristics, but must use inflexible, ossified methods of "generality" and "formalism," then it will necessarily meet with a rebuff and fail. The most numerous and most usual type of ideological education is the individual work of one person, and one event, and this is the basic achievement of ideological and political work. The most enormous and difficult task is transforming the backward, and this is a key point of ideological and political work. To do a good job of this work, one must not depart from the basic principle, "Use different methods to solve different contradictions." Only by carrying out a careful analysis of the nature, degree of development, and generating factors of different questions, and only by finding the pulse, adopting methods which are suited to it, and treating the disease, can we let go the arrow, open the lock of people's hearts, and uncover the hidden potential there.

Its permeating of everything causes ideological and political work to have a relationship to other work. Man's ideological activity processes penetrate the processes of all productive and life activities, and thus ideological education cannot be separated from productive work, nor can work be separated from ideological education. Ideological and political work is interdependent with all other work, influences it, and is influenced by it. Ideological and political work must be done together with all productive work and penetrate all people's activity, including productive labor, scientific research, management, social work, cultural and artistic activity, and even domestic and individual life, and only thus can it develop its appropriate role. For example, if one wants to have people maintain exuberant health and spirit in their work and raise their interests in and efficiency at work, then one should study how better to guarantee the material conditions for consumer needs and improve the material environment of their activity (temperature, color, sound, light and smell) to suit the people's psychological characteristics in work. To make people gradually form good ideological character in their practical activity, one should start from a great quantity of detailed and common work and activity to develop fully the people's strongpoints, respect their creative spirit, encourage them to engage in rational

competition under a unified goal, and implement rewards according to merit. To nurture a sense of belonging and honor with regard to the collectives, organizations and nation to which they belong, one should make people recognize, from an observation of the actual benefits derived, the intimate relationship that develops between the whole and the individual. In short, an important link in ideological education work which permeates everything is to make the individual and the collective capable of constantly guaranteeing an internal motive force and to do their utmost to make this individual motive force and the collective motive force fuse in the struggle for a unified goal.

Self-education and mutual influences give ideological and political work a mass character. The important object of ideological and political work is the people, and it is the people who are the masters of society. In a socialist society, each citizen is both the educator and the student. The fact that the masses of people are in the position of masters determines that ideological and political work must uphold the direction of self-education of the masses. The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism, the ability to tell right from wrong, and the psychology of not being willing to lag behind and delighting in forging ahead, and these are the basic conditions for the masses to be able to accept and carry out education. Only if the entire party, both above and below, is mobilized, and not only a few cadres do ideological work but administrative and technical cadres also work, and not only leadership cadres at all levels work but the working masses also work, then ideological and political work can create a vital and lively new situation. In the self-education of the masses, broadly encouraging heart-to-heart talks is a good form and method of mass creation. If the leaders and the led are to have heart-to-heart talks, they can exchange opinions, eliminate barriers, increase trust, and strengthen unity; with heart-to-heart talks, comrades can get across ideas, exchange feelings, unify knowledge, and advance hand in hand. In short, through the mutual influences of help and promotion among the masses, there can be extensive and profound educational effectiveness.

Ideological and political work is a science, and we only raise this topic to set forth a superficial way of looking at it. We have not thought this through very well, and we hope we can discuss it and study it with everyone. We expect that proletarian ideological and political work will become a science, and that a treatise will be published quickly and systematically. We also hope that, on the basis of the demands of the scientific nature of ideological and political work, concerned sections will be able quickly as possible to formulate rules and methods for examining and training ideological and political work cadres, encourage ideological and political work personnel to study hard, gain professional proficiency, conscientiously practice, and courageously probe to contribute their own talents and abilities to the realization of the four modernizations.

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CHU. 40/13

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

FEAST PRICES INVESTIGATED--According to BEIJING RIBAO, in order to check the unhealthy tendencies of some leading cadres and some so-called "related" cadres who have gone to restaurants for extravagant eating and drinking, the preparatory group for the discipline inspection committee under the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee has ordered the No 1 Municipal Service Bureau to carry out a general check in accordance with the "guiding principles for inner-party political life of Chinese communists." The check will focus on problems caused by restaurants under its jurisdiction which serve specially prepared meals. According to the group's orders, the service bureau should handle every problem as it sees fit and adopt relevant measures to eliminate loopholes and to check such evil tendencies. The preparatory group for the discipline inspection committee under the municipal CCP committee gave this order after examining the erroneous behavior of Wang Lei and other leading cadres who feasted at the Feng-ze-yuan Restaurant at nominal prices. The erroneous behavior was exposed by Chen Aiwu, a young cook at the Feng-ze-yuan Restaurant. [Text] [HK241032 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Oct 80]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GOOD BEHAVIOR PRAISED, BAD PRACTICES CRITICIZED

OW261425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1547 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Excerpts] Beijing, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--WEN HUI BAO on 24 October published three letters from readers which commended three cadres and policemen of Jiading County's Public Security Bureau in Shanghai who performed their duty properly and refused to accept gifts, and criticized some personnel of a coal gas company, the Shanghai beer factory and other factories for their bad practices of demanding from fraternal units treat in exchange for services done. WEN HUI BAO carried an editor's note while publishing the letters.

One of the letters said: In last mid-June, a resident of Nanxiang town in Jiading County arrived at the home of Hou Quanfu, deputy head of the Nanxiang town's police station, taking with him two cartons of Phoenix brand cigarettes, some canned food and more than 10 jin of peanuts. He requested Hou Quanfu to change the registered permanent residence of his two sons from the countryside to the town. Hou Quanfu rejected his request outright and criticized this resident.

WEN HUI BAO editor's note says: Nowadays, a bad practice of getting service by providing treat and presenting gifts, a practice known as "skinning the wild goose when it flies by," exists in some departments, some units and some working personnel. This type of bad practice shows that the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" has not been thoroughly eliminated and that it seriously harms our party, state and revolutionary ranks. We must be resolved to improve our party's work style and lead social practice to a correct path. On the one hand, we must commend good people and good deeds that dare to oppose evil practices and noxious tendencies; on the other hand, we must expose evil practices and noxious tendencies, arouse strong public opinion against them and give this warning to those comrades who till today follow those bad practices: "Comrades, it is dangerous to engage in bad practices. The faster you correct your ways, the better."

CSU: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NAVAL SCHOOL COMMANDANT WORKS TO MASTER MODERN TECHNOLOGY

HK270441 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT
26 Oct 80

[Text] (Zeng Qiansheng), commandant of the navy's No 2 Surface Warships School, has scored good achievements in his efforts to master modern technology. The cadres and fighters have praised his efforts. (Zeng Qiansheng) is an old comrade who joined the revolution in 1938. When new China was established, he switched from the army to the people's navy, which was just in the process of growth. Ever since that time, he has assiduously studied to acquire specialized naval knowledge. His study has been deep and extensive. He has seriously studied everything that a large navy needs to know, such as naval tactics, warship construction, warship operation, astronomy, geography, navigation and so on. In the past 20 and more years he has filled over 10 thick notebooks. Since being appointed commandant of the No 2 Surface Warships School in 1978, he has studied in a relatively systematic way radar, radio, electronic countermeasures, and some material on foreign navies.

(Zeng Qiansheng) is a devoted student. A few years ago he read in some foreign material that during World War II the Germans hid two strategic ships in the Port of Brest, France. The British and U.S. air forces searched for and bombed them for nearly 1 year, but in the end the two ships safely escaped. For several years, (Zeng Qiansheng) diligently sought the reason why the German ships could be hidden. In 1978 he accompanied a naval delegation on a visit to France, during which he went to Brest. The port presented a peaceful scene. (Zeng Qiansheng) took the chance to ask those accompanying his party where the German ships had been concealed at that time. They pointed and said, "Over there." (Zeng Qiansheng) hurried to look through a telescope. He could only see two big pillars erected under a cliff. He suddenly saw the light. He had found the way to conceal big warships.

During this visit (Zeng Qiansheng) studied assiduously everywhere he went, and wrote a 20,000-word account of the visit after he returned. This was published in installments in the magazine RENMIN HAIJUN [PEOPLE'S NAVY].

(Zeng Qiansheng) is an assiduous student. In order to master modern naval knowledge, he has persistently studied English over the past 30 years.

back in 1949, when he was appointed captain of the defector warship "Changshi," he had little interest in the various odds and ends he saw when taking inventory; instead he set his eyes on a two-volume English book about navigation. (Zeng Qiansheng) only knew a little English. Could he understand such thick volumes? He summoned up the spirit of charging at the front in battle, got hold of a dictionary, and worked hard to master the thick English books in the manner of an ant gnawing a bone. He wrote 200 pages of notes when reading a 400-page book. Through this study he acquired a firm foundation for mastering navigational techniques.

Although (Zeng Qiansheng's) hairs are now gray, he is still continuing to study foreign languages for the purpose of introducing the latest knowledge about world navies to his students. He never misses an opportunity to learn. Once when he went away to attend a conference, he saw two unfamiliar English phrases written on a door of the airport waiting room. He immediately copied them down and asked the service personnel what they meant. As a result of devoted study, his standard of English is ceaselessly improving. This year he translated material on U.S. naval computers, which was serialized in RENMIN HAIJUN.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FINE ARTS MAGAZINE INTRODUCES TAIWAN PAINTER'S WORKS

OW280608 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1154 GMT 27 Oct 80

[Text] The recently published October issue of the 1980 magazine FINE ARTS carried on its front page a painting completed in 1971 by China's famous painter Zhang Daqian who now lives in Taiwan. The painting was entitled: "Danshan Mountains in Early Spring." The magazine also used five pages to print a portion of the painting entitled "The 10,000 Li Yangtze River" which he did in 1968. The magazine also carried an article by China's famous painter Ye Qianyu commenting on and introducing Zhang Daqian's achievements in fine arts. This issue of FINE ARTS magazine also carried an article written by Zhang Daqian's daughter Zhang Xinrui and his son-in-law Xiao Jianchu, giving Zhang's resume of his professional work.

Zhang Daqian was born in Neijiang County, Sichuan Province, in 1899. He was the first professional painter who went to the Dunhuang Grottoes to copy the wall paintings there. With the Yangtze River, the Huangshan, Huashan and Emei mountains and the three gorges and other famous mountains and rivers as themes, he portrayed, in all kinds of forms, the magnificent mountains and rivers of the motherland. His works were often exhibited in Tokyo, Argentina, Paris, Cologne, New York and other localities and were well praised throughout the world.

At the beginning of the article by Xiao Jianchu and Zhang Xinrui, there was also a recent picture of Zhang Daqian taken in 1980.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WENYI BAO' CRITIC DISCUSSES SUCCESS OF YUE FEI RADIO PROGRAM

OW260749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 26 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 26 (XINHUA)--Life virtually comes to a standstill for half an hour at lunch and supper time every day as people tune in to the radio special, "The Story of Yue Fei," narrated by a 36-year-old woman from Anshan, northeast China.

Listening to the saga of the hero of the Song Dynasty eight centuries ago, who was a symbol of Chinese patriotism, has become homework for many schoolchildren.

Since the story began being broadcast by the Anshan Radio Station in September last year, some 60 radio stations, central and local, have followed suit. With each installment lasting half an hour a day, the whole program runs for three months.

Liu Lanfang, a storyteller with more than 20 years of experience, adapted the story from various versions of Yue Fei's military career, which ended in his death as a result of a frame-up by treacherous court officials.

A critic in the national literary gazette WENYI BAO describes Liu Lanfang's work as "suitable for people of all ages and all tastes."

Apart from people's traditional interest in heroes like Yue Fei, her success also comes from her technique, which borrows from the dialogue of traditional operas as well as everyday language. The critic says she has made a breakthrough in the art of storytelling, originally rooted among urban working people, and reached intellectuals, many of whom are following the "Yue Fei" program regularly.

The popularity of the program among young people has helped allay concerns that modern cinema and popular music are attracting the young away from the traditional art forms, such as Beijing opera, storytelling and ballad singing. In discussions in the Chinese press and in cultural circles, people have observed that different art forms may exist side by side and supplement each other, and that modern influences on culture have not squeezed out conventional art forms.

It appears that as long as new content is brought in and innovations carried out in the form, storytelling and ballad singing will continue to hold their ground. In fact, in its thousand years of existence, Chinese storytelling has undergone constant changes, from a medium for conveying Buddhist tales into one of folklore.

The new interest in storytelling, which has derived much from Beijing opera, should help win back youthful audiences, according to an administrator of the China Traditional Opera Institute, where the best young Beijing opera actors and actresses are trained. Storytelling will also acquaint the younger generation with the historical background of traditional operas, and literature and art as well, according to the spokesman.

CSO: 4020

'FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED MOUNTAINS' REALLY WAS FOOLISH

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Liu Maoyin [0491 5399 6892]: "A New Explanation of 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains'"]

[Text] Since Comrade Mao Zedong invested the parable "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" with new meaning, those whom people have for years considered models for being victorious through hard work and surmounting every obstacle have played an enormous role in both revolution and construction. However, there have also been some people who have suffered metaphysically because of a distorted understanding. Because of this, on rereading this parable, we are compelled to get down to its original meaning.

Previously, we used to think that the foolish old man wasn't foolish, and we respected him because of his spirit of hard work in keeping on digging up the mountains, and [we used to think] that the wise old man was not wise because he did not understand that the foolish old man was employing the principle of inexhaustible labor by having his sons and grandsons dig up the mountains. Now it is felt that it is not a rational explanation to praise the foolish old man and conceal his foolishness and to deprecate the wise old man by removing his wisdom. Can you imagine the foolish old man's descendants and the 7-year-old orphan of the neighbor Mr. Jingcheng, using shovels and baskets to move the dirt from the 700 cubic li and lofty Taihang and Wangwu mountains and throwing it into the tail of Bohai, a roundtrip which takes a year? How could the mountains be moved this way? Furthermore, the foolish old man and his helpers still had to eat and dress, and if they put all their energy into moving the mountains, would they eat dirt and drink the northwest wind? The wise old man saw the foolishness of the foolish old man, and with good intentions pointed it out to him; moving mountains this way is fruitless labor. But before the wise old man had finished speaking, the foolish old man cursed him for being so stubborn and for having less experience than a child. Obviously, the foolish old man was very stubborn himself. If the foolish old man had humbly listened to the wise old man's proposal, I think the wise old man would probably have had some very good advice. The reason the foolish old man was moving the mountains was because the Taihang and Wangwu mountains blocked the road to his home. The wise old man might have advised him to move his home from the back of the mountains to the front of the mountains; or he might have lived happily where he was if, in the spirit with which he was moving the mountains, he had changed the environment where he lived and planted trees on Taihang and Wangwu mountains and gone in for forestry; or if he had raised cows and sheep and developed an animal husbandry business; or, if he liked

the fish in the ponds and streams at the foot of the mountains and in the ravines, if he had spent some effort in raising fish he could have had more fish than he could eat. All this without having to move the mountains or travel a thousand li to Bohai to catch fish. The foolish old man suffered from not having listened to the wise old man's suggestion. If it hadn't been for divine help, the Taihang and Wuwang mountains might remain as before. Yet spirits don't exist, and everything still has to be done by oneself. When the author wrote this parable, he called the man who moved the mountains a "foolish old man" and finally brought gods in to help by carrying the mountains away on their backs to show that it was unrealistic for the foolish old man to move mountains. His aim in writing the story was to explain the spirit of persistence and hard work.

If in studying the foolish old man who removed the mountains we study certain methods only in terms of their form and are divorced from objective reality in using sea-of-people tactics and act rashly on the basis of physical strength alone, then we will not be able to get results. You could say that a few years ago there was a great deal of this kind of suffering. Suppose there was a brigade of over 100 households that decided in 1975 to imitate the foolish old man who removed the mountains and started to move a mountain to create 14 mu of land. If they worked for 4 full years, day and night, spending over 16,000 man-days and about 2 or 3 tons of dynamite, they still would not have cleared 1 mu. To move the mountain would take another 4 years' work. If commune members worked and worked for only a few cents a day, not to mention the hard life, it would really be hard on the people and on their finances. This is probably what comes from not listening to the opinions of the "wise old man."

Exposing the foolish old man's foolishness is not being disrespectful to him. His kind of spirit of persistence and hard work should always be developed. It is impossible to succeed at any great enterprise without this spirit of hard work, but this alone is not enough; to succeed at a great undertaking, working ingeniously must be added to working hard. Therefore, at the same time that I respect the foolish old man, I am filled with veneration for the wise old man. He used his intelligence to come up with a plan for the foolish old man, his spirit is invaluable, and his role is inestimable. If the foolish old man had respected the wise old man as his teacher and had guided his actions by the wisdom of the wise old man, then the foolish old man's strength would have been multiplied several times, dozens of times, even hundreds and thousands of times, and he could have accomplished something earthshaking.

In the new long march to build the four modernizations, we must by all means dare to work hard and be good at being new "foolish old men" who have learned from the wise old man. Since they have both the hardworking strength of the foolish old man and the level of knowledge of the wise old man, they could do anything and were very versatile. If everyone were to strive in this direction, why shouldn't the four modernizations be completed?

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CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEER LABEL EXCHANGE DELAY SEEN AS EXAMPLE OF BUREAUCRATIC TIMIDITY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 80 p 3

[Excerpts from XI'AN RIBAO article: "Brand Label Wanted Abroad, But Relayed Requests for Instructions Take Nearly a Year; An Obvious Example of the Rate of Ideological Ossification"]

[Text] One day in August of last year, the Xi'an Brewery received a letter from a foreign beer lover asking for a brand-name label from that brewery. Along with the letter he sent several labels from foreign beers, wanting to exchange them. After the brewery received the letter, the party's general branch secretary and plant managers could not figure out what to do, so they decided to ask the upper echelons for instructions. They sent the letter to the technical section of the Municipal First Bureau of Light Industry, but the engineers in that section could not figure out what to do, either, so they asked the deputy bureau chief for instructions. The deputy bureau chief also could not give them an answer, so they asked the relevant upper level department for instructions. They phoned the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office and received the reply: "We have never run into this sort of thing before, so we can't give you an answer." Then a copy of the letter was sent to the Provincial Bureau of Light Industry and Textiles, and before long it came back, but without any opinion.

Since they hadn't answered the first letter from abroad, they kept getting letter after letter. One day a cadre in the brewery said to the manager: "Sending a label isn't all that important; surely we can agree to that!" The brewery manager replied: "Young fellow, you didn't suffer enough in the Great Cultural Revolution! You say now that it's not important, but after a few years it will catch up with you and I won't be able to plead for mercy." So the matter was put off until the end of May, when the seventh letter arrived from abroad, accompanied by 34 foreign beer labels, and yet the man hadn't been sent even one label. Finally, on 2 June, with the prodding of the comrades, the brewery leadership had the secretary send a formal written request to the Municipal First Bureau of Light Industry asking for instructions. The report finally came into the hands of the bureau chief, who wrote on the report: "We don't know about this sort of thing. Have the office go to the relevant sections for explanation and instructions and tell the brewery to take care of it." From the looks of things, the "football" was about to be kicked back downstairs. Unexpectedly, the Bureau Supply and Marketing Office received the letter, and after calling the comrade responsible for brand labels in the Municipal Bureau of Commerce and Industry, the matter was quickly relayed down and the answer was direct: "Go ahead and send them! It's so silly. And please send us the foreign

beer labels so we can have a look at them." The above instructions were telephoned to the brewery on 17 June, but the brewery leadership still had misgivings: our report was a formal written one; why did the bureau inform us by telephone and not by formal letter? There was "nothing in writing," so they were still uncertain. So the matter of the letter from abroad asking for a beer label dragged on for 11 months before being wrapped up.

Xi'an beer is rated as a good domestic beer, and by rights we should make an effort to move into the international market. But if we don't even dare send brand-name labels to people, then how can we talk about sending products to compete for their attention?

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BUREAUCRATIC STALLING BLAMED FOR DEPARTURE OF SPECIALISTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 80 p 1

[Article: "Why Did Refrigeration Specialist Chan Yanxiang Leave?"]

[Text] On 27 July, Chen Yanxiang [7115 1693 7534], a Chinese refrigeration specialist and member of the International Association of Refrigeration Specialists, took his wife and two children and left Shanghai to return to the United States because the relevant department had delayed and refused to make a decision on the matter of his work assignment. This matter provoked a great deal of discussion in the relevant unit, because severe bureaucratism and the "pass the buck" workstyle in the work of that unit let an experienced technician committed to the four modernizations leave!

Chen Yanxiang, who was 63 this year, graduated from the National Sino-French Industrial College in 1939. He worked in the Shanghai branch of the U.S. Beiji [0554 2817--Norge?] Company and as an engineer for the China Tonghui Machine Company. He was elected a member of the international Refrigeration Association and the French Refrigeration Alliance, and he was a member of the editorial board of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Mechanical Engineering Association. In 1950 he returned to China and became an engineer and acting manager of the Shanghai Ice Works. In 1955 he was arrested because of his political background. After investigation, no serious political difficulties were found in his background. After his release in 1956, he was assigned to work in the Shanghai refrigeration engineering team of the Central Municipal Service unit's Design and Installation Company. In 1957 he left his job and was unemployed for a long time. After 1960, through an introduction from the Municipal Committee's United Front Department, he got a position as a translator for the Foreign Languages Press and the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Information Research Unit.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," on two occasions, November 1978 and September 1979, out of enthusiasm for the four modernizations, Chen wrote to the leadership comrades of the Central Committee asking for work. In his letter, Chen said, "I have studied refrigeration technology for over 30 years and have both theoretical knowledge and practical experience in the design and manufacture of refrigeration equipment and management and control of refrigeration technology. In the last 20-odd years in particular, I have never abandoned the theoretical investigation of my refrigeration specialty and have continued to edit and translate materials sent from foreign associations. Now the situation is both exciting and urgent, and although I am nearing 60, still the heart of the old horse put out to pasture doesn't want to lag behind." This showed that he wanted to make a

contribution to refrigeration technology. On 24 September 1979, the relevant leadership comrades of the Central Committee responded to his letter. The relevant leadership comrades of Shanghai also regarded the situation very carefully and on two occasions asked the Second Bureau of Commerce to find technical work for this socially idle Chen in order to take advantage of his specialty. The Municipal Committee's United Front Department also pointed out that Chen had a certain level of expertise in refrigeration work and proposed that he be given work to mobilize his initiative.

On the basis of investigation and study, the Scientific and Technical Cadre Office of the Municipal People's Government repeatedly discussed the matter with the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce, and they expressed a willingness to accept him. On 17 December 1979, the Second Bureau of Commerce formally issued a "Notice Concerning a Work Assignment for Comrade Chen Yanxiang." But not long after the notice was issued, the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce suddenly added, "Too old," and "bureau agency strength is frozen," as pretexts to evade the issue and announced, "If agreement of the Municipal Workstrength Committee can be secured, Chen can be given work in an agency under our bureau and draw a salary from an agency of our bureau." This pushed the work arrangements for Chen onto the Municipal Workstrength Committee.

After receiving a letter from the comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office, Chen repeatedly went to the Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce to work, and again and again he put forth reasons why he hoped that they would be able to consider the question from the perspective of implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and the talent necessary for working for the four modernizations and developing expertise, and that they would find him a job. The Organization Office of the Second Bureau of Commerce has said that "companies of this bureau do not want to accept him." As understood by the Municipal Workstrength Committee, the workstrength freeze applied to agencies above bureau level, but the assignment of scientific and technical personnel below company level was basically not within the scope of the restrictions. Although the comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office made numerous attempts, they had no effect and the football was kicked back again.

It was not until 16 June, after 7 months of chasing around by comrades of the Municipal Scientific and Technical Cadre Office over work for Chen Yanxiang, that the Second Bureau of Commerce got a relatively satisfactory answer: "We agree to accept him, and we can place him." But just when things were getting under way for Chen Yanxiang's job, Chen had already made arrangements to emigrate and was prepared to leave the country.

Chen's departure demonstrates that many sections and units have not paid sufficient attention to implementing the party's policy with regard to intellectuals and fully developing the role of intellectuals in the four modernizations. Because of delays and failure to find him a job, this refrigeration specialist, who had a level of specialization and influence, was forced to leave. This shows how serious bureaucratism is in these sections.

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KEY UNIVERSITIES MUST TRAIN GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SCIENCE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Tang Zhixiao [0781 0037 2427], Shen Huanming [3088 3562 2494], Wang Zhibin [3769 3112 1755] and Duan Lin [3008 2651]: "Key Universities Should Train Science and Technology 'Mountaineers'--Some Views on Graduate Training"]

[Text] Relatively speaking, key universities have strong faculties, good library facilities, and a wealth of educational experience. How can their superiority be brought into play to do a better job of training qualified personnel for the nation? We think they should put more effort into training qualified personnel who can climb the peaks of science and technology and can resolve independently the latest questions of science and technology in China's modernization construction and can undertake the task of creating "mountaineers." Key universities should also employ a variety of educational techniques, but when concerned sections make arrangements for educational missions, they should discriminate between the special features of different schools, divide the labor and the emphasis, and not share the tasks equally. In addition to teaching basic science classes, key universities should emphasize the recruiting and training of graduate students so as to train a large group of qualified personnel up to the international level of master's degrees and Ph.D's. Those with the proper qualifications should also run graduate schools.

1. Various means should be used to select graduate students, and the starting point for training should be raised.

To train high-quality graduate students, well-prepared candidates should be selected. In selecting candidates, a variety of methods should be used, and all avenues should be opened for people with talent. In addition to recruiting the best from among this year's graduating class and currently employed cadres, graduate students can be chosen from among students at first-rate universities and from among young people who have reached the level of college graduate through self-study. Regulations now prohibit recruiting graduate students from among students currently in school, but this seems overly restrictive. Can this be changed to permit a few topnotch students to be recommended by their teachers and the school leadership to approve their taking the entrance examinations? Actually, there are some talented young people in schools or in society who through self-study have achieved or surpassed the level of graduate school entrance. They have a very bright future, and they should not be restricted. To train "mountaineers," risks should be permitted and encouraged.

II. It is necessary to grasp scientific research and raise the level of science in the schools

Scientific "mountaineers" develop only by scaling the peaks of science. Teachers should raise their level of science and technology through scientific research, and graduate students should participate in scientific research and develop their own abilities for scientific research. Key universities should be teaching centers and research centers. This is demanded by the nature of the development of modern productive forces. The role of science and technology in the development of production is becoming increasingly larger, and the length of time it takes science to turn into a productive force is growing ever shorter. This situation demands that the training of qualified personnel be changed from purely the transmission of knowledge to a training which emphasizes intelligence and creative ability. The transmission of knowledge should make every effort to catch up with the even faster pace of new knowledge. This demands that key universities be at the cutting edge of scientific developments. The quality of a school's graduate training is to a considerable degree determined by the improvement in the school's scientific level.

We should not oppose the demand that the main function of schools is to teach, and that the goal of key universities is to be centers of teaching and scientific research, for the two are intended to train high-quality scientific and technical personnel. Teachers at key universities certainly should improve both their teaching and their scientific research. Of course, as far as balance is concerned, there should for a time be priorities. At present, some teachers want to emphasize scientific research and deemphasize teaching. We should look for the reasons for this in the guiding ideology and policy measures in education and find a solution in guidance from positive aspects through rational arrangements.

III. Fully develop the superiority of faculties

The superiority of key universities is that they have strong teaching faculties. This superiority should be well developed to train more and higher quality graduate students for the needs of the nation. The potential of the faculty of key universities still has not been fully developed, and the potential of many capable faculty members is definitely still being "concealed." The reasons for this are varied. We feel that this power should be better mobilized to train graduate students. The view that only a few old professors should train graduate students should be changed. The training of graduate students should be made a task for the entire faculty of key universities. In fact, faculty members who graduated before the early 1960's already have the general ability to pursue independent teaching and scientific research, and they could be completely brought into play in training graduate students. The training of graduate students could adopt a variety of forms. Some could be taught by professors and assistant professors alone, while some who have the ability to work independently could be trained by being grouped together in directed classes under the guidance of professors and assistant professors who have specialized knowledge. This would be advantageous for increasing the scale of graduate student enrollment as well as for raising the quality of graduate training. When educational leadership sections determine how many graduate students a school or a specialty can absorb, they should look not only at the number of professors but also at the strength of the middle-aged faculty. Some specialties, especially some newer specialties, have few old teachers but great strength in middle-aged teachers, whose work is outstanding and who could take on more students.

To better develop faculty members' potential, we should give them more autonomy in teaching and research. For example, they should be permitted and encouraged to set up unique graduate courses based on their own specialties so that there will be competition among faculties. They should also support the development of a creative spirit in their scientific research and freely combine and choose topics in accordance with national needs and the direction of scientific developments. Purely administrative arrangement methods should not be used to resolve questions of planning and managing scientific research, but methods of investigation by specialists, demonstrations of proposals, and selection of the best proposals for support to carry out organized guidance in choosing topics should be used more.

IV. Employ more disciplines to walk new paths

One characteristic of modern science and technology is that the synthesis of many disciplines is constantly producing new disciplines and frontier disciplines. Graduate training should adapt to this trend of development. In this regard, because key institutions of higher learning are comprehensive and have many disciplines, conditions are more favorable than in scientific research sections.

As far as the individual teacher is concerned, there are, after all, limitations to specialized knowledge. For example, teachers in biology want to develop a new biological science, especially if it is a frontier science, but they also sense that their own mathematical foundation is deficient. The graduate students we train should have good foundations in both biological sciences and in mathematics. This problem can be resolved in the following ways: 1. By recruiting students from outside the specialty and from outside the school, and not limiting the recruiting effort to graduates of that school or specialty. 2. By recruiting students from different departments within the school or from combinations of different disciplines, and even by recruiting students in conjunction with other schools and research sections, such as the graduate students in the history of physics recruited by the theoretical physics laboratory at Fudan University in conjunction with the Research Institute of History of Natural Sciences at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. 3. By giving students leeway for free development, by offering more graduate courses, by implementing a system of academic credit, and by permitting graduate students to attend classes in other disciplines on the basis of their own interests and their specialties, as well as by permitting them to participate in scientific research outside their specialties.

To conform better to the development of science and the need to train qualified personnel, we should study how to reform the system of organization of teaching and research at key universities. At present the system of organization of research agencies and the organization of teaching and research, which has been set up vertically along specialty lines, is not favorable to horizontal alliances between disciplines. The separate establishment of teaching and research groupings mainly responsible for teaching basic courses and teaching and research groupings for specialties is not favorable for the combination of teaching and research. The question of how to set up teaching and research organizations which will be suited to the needs of interdisciplinary ties should be studied better and resolved. We propose that the Ministry of Education undertake tests, summarize experiences, and make proposals on the basis of the actual situation in China.

V. Provide more support for funds and equipment

If we are to turn key universities into teaching and research centers of international advanced level to train first-class qualified personnel, we should be given more support funds and equipment. Teaching and research at institutions of higher education still do not have special national allocations, but have only supplementary funds which must be requested from appropriate agencies. Furthermore, funds for graduate students cannot meet the needs of these graduate students who are engaged in independent scientific research. Because of poor management of instruments and equipment at higher schools, many have never really been fully utilized; this demands our highest concern for a solution. It should also be noted, however, that in terms of the demand that key universities train first-class qualified personnel and produce first-class scientific research results, present instruments and equipment are a long way from modernized levels. The general level is still much lower than that of domestic industrial sections and research sections. We hope that the nation's concerned sections can provide key universities with greater support in terms of funds and equipment, so that key universities can make greater contributions to training scientific and technical "mountaineers."

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BRIEFS

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT--Shijiazhuang, October 27 (XINHUA)--More than 30,000 young people have enrolled this year in 415 technical schools newly set up in Hebei Province, the Provincial Education Bureau said today. A spokesman for the bureau said: "This is just the beginning. The demand for early vocational training is pressing." Hebei plans to turn half its 3,471 highschools into vocational schools by 1985, as part of the nationwide reform in secondary education to enable more middle-school graduates to join the workforce with some special training. Nearly half a million people graduated from highschool in Hebei this year but only eight percent of them went on to colleges and other higher-learning establishments. Of the newly-converted schools, 25 are in cities and 390 have been set up in rural areas. The 34 subjects taught in the city technical schools include electronics, machinery, radio, coal mining, sewing, pottery and the tourism business. Agrotechnical schools, run by counties, communes and villages, give classes suited to local needs. The Wenquantun Commune, which is going to set up a 1,000-hectare grape production center and will need 700 technicians, is running a class on viticulture. Qianxi County, a major chestnut producer, now runs a course to train students in the skills of farming chestnuts. The classes cover culture, management, storage, soil preparation and pest control. The provincial institute of education helps compile the technical textbooks. [Text] [OW270312 Beijing XINHUA in English 0258 GMT 27 Oct 80]

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